OUND TABLE: WOMAN'S STAKE IN THE WAR

PROPERTY OF THE
LIBRARY OF THE
JUN 29 19
WOMAN'S COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

FREE WORLD

LIN YUTANG
The War About the Peace

FRANZ WERFEL
Weissenstein, World Reformer

SIR NORMAN ANGELL
Price of National Freedom

COUNT SFORZA
The Truth About Italy

WILLIAM L. SHIRER
The Antithesis of Hitler

●

PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE

II—Potential Forces of Asia

by Louis Dolivet

JULY, 1942
40c PER ISSUE
CANADA, 50c

DECLARATION

In accordance with the policy of the United Nations and in the spirit of the Roosevelt-Churchill Declaration, the Free World Association has adopted the following policies:

I—Political war against fascism in all its forms

1. Constant opposition to official or camouflaged agents of Hitler, Mussolini, and Japan wherever they are found. This is action against the Fifth Column.
2. Support of all governmental, individual, and organized resistance against Hitler, Mussolini, and Japan in the free and occupied countries.
3. Fight against appeasement in internal as well as in external policies.

II—Propaganda for a free world founded upon total democracy

Democracy should be extended in the international field as well as in the national, economic, and social fields. A free world must be founded upon the following principles:

An unqualified equality of all races and peoples; the same rights and obligations of the same nature for every nation, particularly in the matters of distribution of raw materials, of collective security, and of disarmament after a period of transition and necessary re-education. The end of the regime of absolute sovereignty and of colonial exploitation. Colonized peoples should have the right of democratic self-government within the framework of a world organization. An international authority for the administration of so-called backward or colonial areas.

The countries which can participate in the formation of a new international order are those:

a. whose governments are a true expression of popular will and are controlled by freely elected representatives of the people;
b. which assure to the individual his essential rights without distinction of race, color, or creed; such rights should be guaranteed by an International Bill of Rights;
c. whose governments accept international democratic control.

The establishment of the above minimum conditions in all countries is a matter of international concern.

The welfare of humanity can be assured through economic democracy.

The application of economic democracy should permit the equitable distribution of wealth. It would further assure the general regulation of economic activity and immigration in order to achieve, especially, the elimination of unemployment and the access of all peoples to raw materials and to satisfy the claim of the individual to adequate food, clothing, shelter, and medical care.

International justice and peace should be guaranteed by the association of nations organized according to the principles of collective security and possessing international executive, political, military, economic, and educational power. Direct representatives of the peoples as well as government delegates should be entitled to participate in the work of the association of nations.

●

Indicate your endorsement of this declaration by joining

The American Section of the Free World Association

Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, chairman — *55 West 42nd Street, New York*

FREE WORLD

A Monthly Magazine

devoted to

Democracy and World Affairs

●

VOLUME III, No. 2 **JULY, 1942**

The Leave-Taking . . . . . *Sue M. Farha* 100
Editorial 101
The War About the Peace . . . . . *Lin Yutang* 107
The Price of National Freedom . . . . . *Sir Norman Angell* 113
Realities and Illusions About Italy . . . . . *Count Carlo Sforza* 119
Janus Takes a Knock . . . . . *Sydney R. Elliott* 123
The Antithesis of Hitler . . . . . *William L. Shirer* 127
Weissenstein, World Reformer . . . . . *Franz Werfel* 129
Myopia (Verse) . . . . . *Mark Van Doren* 133
Round Table No. 8: Woman's Stake in the War 134
The American Farmer Knows What He's Doing . . . *Helen Hill* 156
A Latin American Expeditionary Force, Part II
Hugo Fernández Artucio 159
Map . . . . . *Martha Rajchman Czarnowska* 162
Toward a Real Inter-Americanism . *Victor Raul Haya de la Torre* 163
Planning for the Future, Part II . . . . . *Louis Dolivet* 165
The Struggle of Free France . . . . . *Henri Laugier* 170
I Was a German Hostage . . . . . *W. B. Starski* 175
Underground Reporter 180
Books
Our Not So Invisible Allies . . . . . *David W. Petegorsky* 185

Drawings by Askold, Dolbin, Draper, L. M., Victor de Pauw, Tom

---

FREE WORLD is owned and published monthly by FREE WORLD, Inc., 55 West 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. Clark M. Eichelberger, Freda Kirchwey, S. M. Cleja, J. Wm. Terry, Directors. Li Yu Ying, Chairman; J. Alvarez del Vayo, Vice-Chairman; Wousaofong, Secretary-Treasurer. Domestic subscriptions $4.00 yearly, Canadian subscription $1.00 additional; foreign subscription $2.00 additional. Single copy price in U.S.A. $.40. Copyright, 1942, by FREE WORLD, Inc. All rights reserved under Pan-American Copyright Convention and International Copyright Convention. Reproduction in whole or in part prohibited. Unsolicited manuscripts will not be returned unless accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. FREE WORLD is printed by Charles Francis Press, Inc., New York City. Entered as second class matter September 17, 1941, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

INTERNATIONAL

MIGUEL O. DE ALMEIDA	*Professor of Physiology, Institute of Manguinhos, Brazil.*
MAX ASCOLI	*Dean, Graduate Faculty, New School for Social Research.*
HENRY A. ATKINSON	*General Secretary, World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches.*
PHILIP J. NOEL BAKER	*Member of British Parliament, Author.*
DOROTHY J. BELLANCA	*Vice-President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.*
ROBERT BENDINER	*Editor and Journalist.*
EDUARD BENEŠ	*President of the Czechoslovak Republic.*
G. A. BORGESE	*Professor of Italian Literature, University of Chicago.*
CLAUDE G. BOWERS	*United States Ambassador to Chile.*
ESTHER C. BRUNAUER	*Associate in Education, American Association of University Women.*
BALDOMERO SANIN CANO	*Rector of the University of Cauca.*
GEN. LAZARO CARDENAS	*Former President of Mexico.*
F. J. VAN CAUWELAERT	*President of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies.*
VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD	*Nobel Peace Prize, 1937; Co-President, International Peace Campaign.*
BEN M. CHERRINGTON	*Director, Foundation for the Advancement of Social Sciences, University of Denver.*
MME. CHIANG KAI-SHEK 蔣宋美齡	
JOHN B. CONDLIFFE	*Professor of Economics, University of California.*
MERCER COOK	*Professor at Atlanta University.*
PERCY E. CORBETT	*Gale Professor of Roman Law, McGill University, Montreal.*
DAVID CUSHMAN COYLE	*Consulting Engineer and Economist.*
J. W. DAFOE	*President and Editor,* WINNIPEG FREE PRESS.
JONATHAN DANIELS	*Editor of* THE NEWS AND OBSERVER, *Raleigh, North Carolina.*
TARAKNATH DAS	*Author; Lecturer on Oriental History and International Relations at the College of the City of New York.*
CHARLES A. DAVILA	*Former Minister of Roumania to the United States.*
JULIUS DEUTSCH	*Former Minister of War of the Austrian Republic.*
PAULO DUARTE	*Brazilian Journalist.*
STEPHEN DUGGAN	*Director of the Institute of International Education.*
ALBERT EINSTEIN	*Member of Faculty, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.*
H. V. EVATT	*Minister for External Affairs of Australia.*
MORDECAI EZEKIEL	*Economic Adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture.*
CHARLES G. FENWICK	*Member of the Inter-American Juridical Commission.*
HENRI FOCILLON	*Professor, Collège de France (Paris), Yale University.*
HON. ADELARD GODBOUT	*Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec.*
FRANK P. GRAHAM	*President of the University of North Carolina.*
HAROLD K. GUINZBURG	*Publisher.*
JOHN GUNTHER	*Writer, Foreign Correspondent and Radio Analyst.*
MRS. J. B. HARRIMAN	*Former United States Minister to Norway.*
OLAV HINDAHL	*Minister of Labor of Norway.*
BERNARDO IBAÑEZ	*Secretary-General, Confederation of Workers of Chile.*
HON. HAROLD L. ICKES	*Secretary of the Interior.*
F. CYRIL JAMES	*Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University.*
COUNT MICHEL KAROLYI	*Former Prime Minister of Hungary.*
HENRIK DE KAUFFMANN	*Minister of Denmark to the United States.*

INTERNATIONAL

SIR NORMAN ANGELL	*Nobel Peace Prize, 1933; Author and Lecturer.*
H. FERNÁNDEZ ARTUCIO	*Professor of Philosophy, University of Montevideo.*
GEORGE BACKER	*Publisher of* THE NEW YORK POST.
HENRI BONNET	*Director of the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations.*
PIERRE COT	*Former Minister of the French Republic*
LOUIS DOLIVET	*Secretary-General, Free World Association.*
CLARK M. EICHELBERGER	*Chariman, Citizens for Victory; Director, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace.*
FREDA KIRCHWEY	*Editor of* THE NATION.
LOUIS LIPSKY	*Writer and Publicist.*
CHIH MENG 孟治	*Director of the China Institute in America.*
WALTER MILLIS	*Editorial Writer of* THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE.

Honorary Board

HON. DOROTHY KENYON	*Counsellor at Law.*
PIERRE KRIER	*Minister of Labor of Luxemburg.*
GUILLERMO LABARCA	*Professor, University of Santiago, Chile.*
FIORELLO H. LaGUARDIA	*Mayor of New York City.*
HENRI LAUGIER	*Former Director of the Institute of Scientific Research France; Professor at the University of Montreal.*
FRANCISCO PEREZ LEIROS	*Vice-President, Latin-American Confederation of Workers.*
MAX LERNER	*Professor of Political Science, Williams College.*
EUSTACHE LETELLIER DE ST. JUST	*Chief Editor of* LE CANADA.
LIN YUTANG 林語堂	*Author, Formerly Professor at University of Peiping.*
LI YU YING 李石曾	*President of the National Chinese Academy, Peiping.*
ENRIQUE S. DE LOZADA	*Bolivian International Authority; Professor, Williams College.*
ARCHIBALD MACLEISH	*Director of the Office of Facts and Figures; Librarian of Congress.*
THOMAS MANN	*Author; Nobel Prize for Literature, 1929.*
J. D. G. MEDLEY	*Vice-Chancellor, University of Melbourne, Australia.*
EDOUARD MONTPETIT	*Director of the School for Social, Economic and Political Science; Secretary-General of the University of Montreal.*
GUNNAR MYRDAL	*Professor of Economics, University of Stockholm.*
REINHOLD NIEBUHR	*Chairman of the Union for Democratic Action.*
FERNANDO ORTIZ	*Editor of* REVISTA BIMESTRE CUBANA *and of* ULTRA (*Havana*)
A. OSSORIO Y GALLARDO	*Former Ambassador of the Spanish Republic to Argentina.*
ISABEL DE PALENCIA	*Former Minister of the Spanish Republic to Sweden.*
RALPH BARTON PERRY	*Professor of Philosophy, Harvard University.*
STOYAN PRIBICHEVICH	*Author.*
SYNGMAN RHEE	*First President of the Provisional Government of the Korean Republic.*
PAUL RIVET	*Director of the Museum of Natural Science of Paris; Professor at the University of Bogota.*
GAETANO SALVEMINI	*Lecturer, Harvard University.*
F. R. SCOTT	*Professor of Civil Law, McGill University, Montreal.*
COUNT CARLO SFORZA	*Senator; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy.*
JAMES T. SHOTWELL	*Professor, Columbia University.*
T. V. SOONG 宋子文	*Former Minister of Finance of the Chinese Republic.*
JAN STANCZYK	*Minister of Labor and of Social Welfare of Poland, Secretary-General of Polish Mine Workers.*
CLARENCE K. STREIT	*Chairman of Federal Union; Author of "Union Now."*
RAYMOND GRAM SWING	*Writer and Radio Analyst.*
ALBERTO TARCHIANI	*Former Editor,* CORRIERE DELLA SERA; *Secretary-General* MAZZINI SOCIETY, *New York.*
DOROTHY THOMPSON	*Columnist.*
RUSTEM VAMBERY	*Former Professor of Criminology, University of Budapest.*
EDUARDO VILLASENOR	*General Director of* BANCO DE MEXICO.
BASIL VLAVIANOS	*Publisher and Editor of the* NATIONAL HERALD.
LUCIEN VOGEL	*Former Publisher and Editor of* LU *and of* VU, *Paris.*
WILLIAM W. WAYMACK	*Vice-President, Editor* DES MOINES REGISTER AND TRIBUNE.
MARY E. WOOLLEY	*President Emeritus of Mount Holyoke College.*
QUINCY WRIGHT	*Professor of International Law, University of Chicago.*

Editorial Board

EDGAR A. MOWRER	*Correspondent,* CHICAGO DAILY NEWS; *Winner of Pulitzer Prize for reporting, 1933.*
ANATOL MUHLSTEIN	*Former Minister at the Polish Embassy in France.*
CARLO A PRATO	*Former Editor,* JOURNAL DES NATIONS; *former foreign correspondent,* THE NEW YORK TIMES.
MILOS SAFRANEK	*Former Chief of Press Service, Czechoslovak Legation, Paris; former Counselor, Czechoslovak Foreign Office.*
MICHAEL STRAIGHT	*Washington Editor* THE NEW REPUBLIC.
J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO	*Former Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Spanish Republic.*
BASIL VLAVIANOS	*Publisher and Editor of the* NATIONAL HERALD.
ROBERT J. WATT	*International Representative, American Federation of Labor.*
WOUSAOFONG 吳秀峯	*Former Member of the Political Section of the League of Nations Secretariat.*

The Leave-Taking

The time has come.
I knew it would. For all the years
When you were growing taller
Measuring yourself against my skirts
I treasured you secretly
And you were mine.

The school years came.
I gave you up for precious hours each day
Until your unlearned fingers learned
To write. But each night you were home again
With me.

How well you grew!
I marveled that a son of mine
Could be so wondrous, yet I knew
The other boys played ball
And swam as well.

And now you're grown.
My heart swells when I hear
Your rapid coming on the walk into the house
And when you plunge inside
I cannot wait to see your laughing face
Though I have memorized it
Since your infancy.

And now the time has come.
You are to go, and though I'm proud
That you can take your place
With ease and grace among your fellows
My heart is strained.

For I know now
You never were all mine,
And I give you to your rightful place.
But I shall wait until the world can send you back
And you will find me here again
When you return, my son.

SUE M. FARHA

EDITORIAL

MORE has happened now in one month than in many years in the past. Despite all the sufferings of this war, despite the mortal danger which still exists, the outlook is slightly better. This does not mean that the wave of optimism which rose recently is justified, but it means that the general prospect for victory and for building a better world is making headway. Of course, the reactionary forces of the past are not dead. They still refuse to recognize the magnitude of our tasks, and they fight against every change for the new and the better.

Everything will depend on the democratic citizens of the world—how quickly they can learn to understand world events; how rapidly they can integrate themselves into a more worthy pattern of character by educating themselves and their friends, by organizing around them the forces of freedom. No government, however progressive, can act without the support of an organized public opinion, and the strength of the free world depends on every conscientious citizen, on his efforts and on his determination to work relentlessly toward the achievement of a free world. Without a world-wide organized mass movement for true democracy and collective security the prospect of a really democratic peace is still endangered. The events of the last month have created more favorable conditions for such democratic activities.

The twenty-year treaty concluded between Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. marks a new step in the policy of co-operation between two of the most important belligerents fighting in the ranks of the United Nations. This treaty ends the atmosphere of suspicion which has existed between the two countries for such a long time. The people of Russia now have definite proof of the iron determination of the Government and the people of Great Britain, not only to pursue this war to a victorious end, but also to collaborate with Russia after the war in the building of a permanent peace. This treaty wipes out the souvenirs of anti-Soviet interventions and the Chamberlain-Munich policy; it ends for Russia the fear of an anti-Soviet encirclement and eliminates the danger of a clash between the two countries after the war. To the British people this treaty means a solemn confirmation of a belief which is already deeply rooted in the popular mind, a belief in the sincerity and determination of the Government and the people of Russia to fight to the end and co-operate after the war.

The agreement concluded in London embodies already in its content and spirit some of the principles of the new era inaugurated in world history by the creation of the United Nations and by the adoption of the At-

lantic Charter. The ratification of the treaty which follows closely upon it will make of the idea of the United Nations and of the principles of the Atlantic Charter a basic obligation to two great countries. This ratification will open a splendid possibility to United Nations propaganda, particularly in the subjugated countries, in the Far East, and in the Axis countries as well, because it will prove to the whole of humanity that these principles were not merely the expression of a temporary war policy, but that they are to become the fundamental basis of the United Nations policy after the war. We know of no better argument to disarm the Axis propagandists.

The British-Russian treaty is also characterized by a very definitive anti-aggression policy. It is in practice, not an instrument of war against Germany and her satellites, but a permanent defensive alliance against the present or future aggressions of Germany and her satellites. No nation determined to renounce a policy of aggression needs to fear this treaty, but every nation threatened by aggression can see in this treaty a guarantee against it. This treaty is not limited to military co-operation. It provides in Article VI for "all possible economic assistance after the war." Those who believe in this war as a United Nations war, different from previous wars, a war fought not only to defeat the enemy, but also to inaugurate a new period of economic co-operation and prosperity, will greet with immense satisfaction and gratitude this historic event.

We, who have suggested this course from the beginning, have a feeling of satisfaction and confidence in the future, but it is our duty to point out that some further developments will be necessary. This treaty will have to be followed by other diplomatic instruments completing it and indicating particularly that this war is directed against every form of fascism, that the main purpose of all the anti-Axis belligerency is to destroy forever the germs of fascism in the Axis countries, as well as in every other country. These precautions may not be necessary for Great Britain and Russia, but we must not forget that for a long time the fascist poison has been injected into almost all the countries of the world and has created confusion of mind, and division. There was and is not only penetration from the outside, but inside all the countries there are dangerous potential fascist forces.

The clear determination of the United Nations to establish the fundamental freedoms without distinction of race, creed, and color must become the foundation of every instrument of the new diplomacy. It must be made clear that the United Nations are determined to destroy all the illusions and hopes of those people who think back to the days of the League of Nations, when fascist Italy could be a member of that institution, could sabotage it from the inside, and could prepare the way for German national socialism; that the United Nations will make an end to all those who still dream of establishing regimes of a semi-fascist character or regimes

based on some of the fascist principles. Once the peoples of the world have the deep conviction that everything is being done to avoid a repetition of the terrible events we are living through today, of the destruction of democratic freedom, of the imposition of standards of life incompatible with the character of our century, the fighting spirit and the spirit of sacrifice will grow more and more rapidly. Much too much is at stake for the whole of humanity not to insist on the necessary measures of precaution which must be taken if peace and freedom are to triumph. It is not lack of confidence in the two great governments of Great Britain and Russia which makes us ask for those guarantees, but it is the experience of the last twenty years which makes it our duty to ask for them. Fighting countries have already written glorious pages into the history of humanity, but the other pages about reconstruction and establishment of freedom have also to be written in the same spirit.

That is the meaning of a peoples' war. Not only for the Americas and for Europe, but also for the peoples of Asia, this action is most urgently necessary. The news from India is not good. Jawaharalal Nehru and the progressive group in Congress seem to have lost some ground in favor of the mystical Mahatma Gandhi. The lack of a concrete policy toward the establishment of Indian independence inspires measures against the war effort. Gandhi intends to prepare a campaign called "Quit India" demanding the withdrawal of American troops. Such a campaign, whatever its reasons may be, is absolutely detrimental to Indian independence and world democracy and will be strongly condemned by democratic forces all over the world.

It is reported that Gandhi, with the support of Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, president of the All-India Congress, and of Nehru, its political leader, has decided to start a movement leading to the formation of an Indian provisional government. Furthermore, Berlin and Tokio have made known that exiles from India and Indian nationalists residing in Japanese occupied territories have held a conference in Bangkok. The Axis Powers seem to have promised them recognition of a revolutionary Indian government. Of course, such a government would be no different from every other Quisling government, and its members would have to be treated as traitors. Normally the plan for such a government would receive no more consideration than the idea that Lord Haw Haw establish a British government in Berlin or West an American government in Germany, but the situation in India is so extremely grave that immediate consideration must be given to it. The same dynamic diplomacy which the United Nations are beginning to apply to all the theaters of war must be applied to India. Here is the first ground on which the United Nations can act as a whole, throwing their political power and influence into the balance in order to convince India that she has much to gain by full participation in the war.

We are convinced that if the United Nations as a whole, and particularly the United States and China, would undertake direct negotiations with India—in agreement, of course, with Great Britain—guaranteeing the establishment of an independent Indian National Council and full participation in a United Nations Defense Council in India, similar to the council in Australia, then the misgivings of the Indian people would disappear, the reactionary and mystical forces would be rapidly overcome, and the fullest mobilization of India would be possible. India, no more than any other country, has the right to doubt a solemn proclamation in favor of her independence by the United Nations. Even if she distrusts England, she has no ground to distrust the United Nations as a whole. No one in India can seriously believe that a comparison with 1914-1918 is possible, because the nature of the war is totally different. Two simultaneous steps must be taken: (1) the United Nations have to guarantee solemnly the independence of India, and (2) the people of India as a whole must decide to participate immediately and fully in this war of independence and freedom. After all, the United Nations are the supreme moral guarantee for the whole of humanity, are the greatest force for freedom which has existed in history, and if they should fail, it is not only India, but all the peoples of the world who will be betrayed.

At last the Second Front

WITH the signing of the United States-Soviet agreement regarding the need "of creating a second front in Europe in 1942," we at last have official sanction for the hopes and desires of the Allied people. The people in the United States, no less than those of Europe and Asia, recognized that this step was imperative to our successful prosecution of the war—and in this, for once, they agreed with Hitler. They felt almost instinctively, what FREE WORLD has so often expressed, that its immediate political and military value was worth whatever difference in cost of men and matériel there might be between the second front in 1942 and in 1943. Now, at last, their wishes have been realized.

It is characteristic of President Roosevelt that this agreement was not merely a propaganda gesture but that it formalized action which had already been taken. At the very time when its terms were set down on paper, men- and matériel-laden convoys were entering the Mediterranean on their way to Tobruk and Malta; the largest mechanized unit of the ultimate American Expeditionary Force was landing in northern Ireland; and American fliers were preparing to bomb Rumania, the source of the gas and oil which supplies Hitler's mechanized forces in Russia.

Obviously the Allied Command will not disclose to us nor to Hitler the progress that has been made in establishing this second front. The world will first learn of it when our troops strike—be it in Norway or France, in Italy or Greece. Our own impatience to learn this fact is solaced by the knowledge that the secret itself is a mighty weapon in the war of nerves against the Axis. And it is a real weapon, too, for the threat alone today holds in the West thousands of the planes and tanks which Hitler sorely needs at Kharkov and Sevastopol.

We who have urged the establishment of a second front even before America's entrance into the war are naturally delighted by the political and military measures that have been taken. We believe that they express the well-considered decision of military authorities that a second front is not only necessary but practical. We trust that they will silence the armchair strategists and the over-cautious officials everywhere who view the realization of this hope as something in the distant future, as a final and decisive blow by which Germany will be brought to her knees. We have every confidence that the signs of activity in Rumania, Ireland, and in the Mediterranean are, like the raindrops which precede the downpour, merely the preliminary acts of an offensive which will burst upon Hitler at any moment.

All-out aid for China

CHINA has entered a second crisis in which lie dangers even more grave than those confronted in 1939, after the fall of Canton and Hankow. For during the last half-year, Japan has completed a land and sea blockade of China, drawing a continental ring of steel from Shanghai, Hong Kong, and the Philippines through the Dutch East Indies, Singapore, and Malaya, to Thailand and Burma. And now the Japanese offensive in China, stalled for nearly three years, is gaining a new and increasing momentum.

Meanwhile, the cumulative strain of the war in China is mounting rapidly. Vital supplies for arsenals are dwindling. Artillery, tanks, and air power are hopelessly inadequate. Inflation, already far advanced, threatens imminently to get out of hand. All of this, after five years of suffering and struggle, inevitably increases internal political tensions. China, with all of its determination and man power, *can* go down unless aid is given with speed and determination—aid in supplying what she lacks today. China now urgently needs: (1) American air combat units operating in China and from Chinese bases; (2) a much larger number of transport planes to ferry critical supplies from northeast India into China, and (3) effective diversions of Japanese strength, especially in the air.

The "Flying Tigers" of the A.V.G. have furnished an irrefutable demonstration of what can be done by well-trained American pilots flying fast American-made pursuit planes against Japanese bombers and fighters. Brigadier General Chennault, their brilliant commanding officer, has stated that 2,000 American planes in China could play havoc with the Japanese air force. Even half this number, furnished promptly, would have an incalculable effect on Chinese confidence and morale at this critical time. A necessary auxiliary to such an air force will be a steady expansion of air transport facilities from northeast India into China. Until it is possible to go through the Japanese blockade, it is necessary to go over it. This is being done today, but on far too small a scale. The key to keeping China effectively in the war until her strength can be renewed by a new supply line may lie in the furnishing, as swiftly as possible, of an adequate number of swift, high-flying cargo planes and the pilots, ground crews, and fighter escorts needed to see them through.

Diversions are also needed. China has not demanded a "second front," such as could be launched from Australia or India. She realizes that time is needed for this. But an intensification of air attacks from these great bases would tend to draw off Japan's land-based bombers and fighters which now give such an enormous advantage to the Nipponese armies in China. Encouraging as have been the victories in the Coral Sea, at Midway, and near the Aleutian Islands, they have not weakened Japan's *land-based* air power. All of these operations would pave the way for a reopening, as soon as possible, of full-scale communications with China such as could be achieved by a strong expedition from India to retake Burma and to reopen the Burma Road.

From every standpoint, China is entitled to such aid. She has for five years been doing in Asia what Russia has done in Europe. It is in China, mainly with Chinese man power, that the still powerful land forces of Japan must be defeated and her military resources exhausted. It is from China that planes must operate to destroy Japanese shipping, power plants, oil reserves, and war industries.

If swift aid to a still united China is a vital means to winning the war against Japan, it is equally vital to winning the peace. Even under the stress of war, China's trend toward democracy has continued, and her leadership is committed to a program of international collaboration, economic justice, and collective security when the war is ended. If that leadership is supported now, it will survive, and we can look forward with confidence to China's emergence as the moral leader in Asia, ready to play her full part in building a better world tomorrow. It is the part of a responsible and far-sighted public opinion to insist that, in the light of all facts, *every possible effort* be made to give China what she desperately requires today.

THE WAR about THE PEACE

BY LIN YUTANG

AFTER a period of seeming forgetfulness about our war and peace aims, and after the Atlantic Charter, showing every sign of a hastily drawn-up office memo, was produced, the United Nations have now settled down to define and make clear to themselves what they are fighting for. This has happened in the United States particularly in the last two months, and the result of this thinking so far has been rather frightening—frightening both for the peoples of the Far East and Latin America and for the American people themselves.

The United States is now standing at the crossroads: one road leading to a higher and better world order based on equality and co-operation of all nations, and the other leading to world mastery or world domination through sheer military force by America in the exclusive company of Britain and excluding Russia and China and all other countries. These two tendencies of thought are basic; this is the war about the peace. Their conflict is necessary and inescapable, and between world mastery and world co-operation there is no other choice. Both schools of thought have sensibly ruled out isolationism after the war as both foolish and impossible.

In this war our political leaders make a better showing than our academic writers. On the side of world co-operation and equality of all nations stand President Roosevelt, Vice-President Henry A. Wallace, Secretary Cordell Hull and Under-Secretary of State Sumner Wells, so far as their public record goes. On this same side, I must also mention all New York taxi-drivers and our soldiers at the front, and Samuel Grafton, the only columnist who seems to speak about a better world with anything like passion and deep sincerity.

The showing on the part of publicists and college professors is disgraceful, and this is the whole point of my writing this article. The deep-seated cynicism, the stupid belief in domination by force, the total absence of appreciation of a moral point of view, and above all, the haughty threat of force, in the form of an overwhelming air and sea power with which they are going to police the world for the world's own good, are the general characteristics of such reasoning. On the whole, it is the American college professor or research advisor of some learned institution, rather than the statesman, who can view comfortably the substitution of a nineteenth century imperialism by a greater and more powerful, more overwhelming rule of force. This is the result of his peculiar academic training, which teaches him to be objective and amoral and to rule out all "silly," inexact, immeasurable human sentiments.

In spite of this objectivity and cynicism, which seem to imply wisdom of age, to an Oriental the net conclusions of such writers seem jejune and naïve in the extreme. The basic ideas are: (1) war for power; (2) balance of power, and (3) racial discrimination—incidentally, all ideas that have motivated Adolf Hitler. Some of these persons are even professed believers in Haushofer's geopolitics, except that, unlike Haushofer and Mackinder, their geopolitics is bad. As Dorothy Thompson points out, Dr. George T. Renner, professor of geography at Columbia University, indicates in his article in *Collier's* that he does not even know geography. It seems that we

are all inheritors of a sick and dying tradition in modern thought, from which these professors are not able to lift themselves. If the voice of professors prevails over the voice of the politicians, the blood of millions of American boys will have to be shed in a future war, for even they themselves do not tell you that, following the pattern of world domination, there will be world peace, but only that the Anglo-American sword shall be ground so sharp and suspended so ominously low over the rest of the world that no revolt will be possible. In other words, what cannot succeed in Hitler's hands will succeed in Anglo-American hands. If this is the sum of wisdom of Anglo-American scholarship, then God save Anglo-American scholarship.

I must elaborate, going in succession from the better to the worst exponents of the theory of Anglo-American domination, even though the State Department may find it absolutely necessary to ban this issue of FREE WORLD from mailing privileges to Latin America and the Far East because the quotations from these authors—whose books are being freely circulated in this country—will absolutely demoralize all members of the United Nations, except Britain and the United States, and drive them away from faith in British and American leadership. Moreover, these quotations will doubtlessly be seized by Tokyo and Berlin as the best possible propaganda about the true intents and purposes of America and Britain in the present war. And yet, it is necessary to write about them because this theory of world domination represents a powerful trend of thought against the other trend of world co-operation, and because the cost of money to American taxpayers and the cost of blood to American families in the next war will depend on the result of this fight between these two schools of thought—and, let us not forget, the issue of peace or war in the future will also depend upon it.

II

THE best book on the domination side of the argument, on the whole temperate and highly intelligent, is John MacCormack's "America and World Mastery." It is a reasonably argued and clearly written book. Also, the author is aware of moral values. "Democracy, therefore, demands not only victory but a rebirth. . . . To free it from the taint of the status quo they should proclaim it as the New Democracy —the democracy that believes man has both a soul and a body and that both are more precious than dogmas or vested interest." Its point of view is historical and matter-of-fact, in regard to the theory of balance of power. Tracing the development of the balance of power in Europe, Mr. MacCormack comes to the conclusion that an Anglo-American alliance is the only alternative to an Anglo-German alliance against Russia after the war. "It would be the instinct of the English people to maintain a Germany strong enough to act as a counterweight to Russia. That is what they tried to do after the first World War, but their efforts were rendered futile by France's fear for her security. . . . *It is highly likely that in post-war Europe Russia may succeed Germany as the fire-breathing dragon against which England must play St. George.** Pan-Slavism, reinforced by a communist ideology, may appear as great a threat as Pan-Germanism wearing the cloak of a new world order." Nothing is more correct than his analysis of both fact and trend, except that Baldwin, Chamberlain & Co.'s efforts to allow the restoration of "a strong Germany" against Russia were not so "futile" as we have sadly learned now. Yet there is never a suggestion of sincere co-operation with Russia in the new world order (without which world peace will be impossible), or a plea for a sincere attempt to do so; on the other hand, it is assumed throughout that this Anglo-American combination is against Russia. Moreover, the author advocates that in the world federation, "the one-member one-vote principle should be succeeded by a more realistic representation of world forces."

Next in order comes Stephen King-Hall's "Total Victory." As editor of the famous King-Hall News Letters, he has all the facts, quotations and dates correct, and the book is informative. Like the other titles, this one is frightening. Total victory means the maintenance of an Anglo-American "peace force," the organization for which is outlined in "The Anglo-American Proclamation to Mankind," to be issued by the President of the United States and the English King. Article 3 reads: "Therefore the President and the King have undertaken to establish a joint British-American Fleet and Air Force. The strength of the Fleet will be in all respects three times that of the next largest fleet afloat at any given moment

*All italics in the quotations are mine.

and not less than twice as strong as any combination of any other three forces." Article 4 reads: "The strength of the Air Force will be not less than four times as great in all respects as the next largest air force and twice as strong as any possible combination of two other air forces." Article 7: "Eighty per cent of the personnel of the British-American Fleet and Air Force will be British and American citizens. Foreign subjects shall be eligible to enlist . . . up to a total of 20 per cent of the whole establishment of each force. Foreign subjects desirous of serving in the Peace Force will be required to take an oath of loyalty to the Commander-in-Chief of the branch of the Peace Force in which they enlist."

Mr. King-Hall's comments on this scheme are both ingenuous and really amusing; they disarm all criticism and make everything clear and pretty.

> By reserving 20 per cent of the personnel of our Peace Force for non-American and non-British subjects, we hope that we should *make a contribution toward international understanding and do a little* to meet the criticism that the establishment of this force was an attempt to establish Anglo-American world domination. On the other hand we feel that no attempt should be made to gloss over the fact that *the British-American peoples are determined to use overwhelming force* to prevent aggression.
>
> The British and American Governments would not wish to deny to any power of goodwill the privilege of partaking in the chastisement of the aggressor. *All they intend to do is to make themselves responsible* for the maintenance of a force large enough and efficient enough in all circumstances to do the job, with or without assistance.
>
> One can hardly expect other nations such as the Russians, for example, to accept what seems *a platitude* to most British and Americans, i.e., the fact that in neither of the great democracies would an aggressive imperial policy receive support. It will therefore be best *to explain the existence* of the Peace Force to other Powers by stating that since the Governments of the British Empire and the U.S.A. between them are *responsible for the welfare of some 30 per cent of the human race* and since experience has shown that owing to the economic integration of civilization it is impossible to limit the effects of war, *the two Governments feel they have a duty and a right* to make special efforts to safeguard world peace.
>
> *It is our belief that if millions of common men and women of every race and creed in every part of the world were convinced that a powerful Anglo-American force existed in order to strike ruthlessly at any aggressor they would cry out: "Thank God!"*

All in all, that is naïveté from the respectable editor of the King-Hall News Letters. The scheme looks as easy and as simple as Hitler's scheme to conquer the world.

We are descending rapidly in our parade of fascist thinking. Lionel Gelber's small book, "Peace by Power," deserves little comment, not because it is small, but because it is very badly written from the point of view of style and this seems natural, because we are now turning to the academic group, the present author being "a teacher of modern history and international affairs at Canadian universities." Had this fact not been clearly indicated on the jacket, I should have thought from the author's cynicism toward higher ideals, that he was a college sophomore or at best a fresh graduate in any decade of intellectual and moral anarchy. It is sufficient to quote his standpoint regarding the nature of this war. *"Let us be perfectly frank with ourselves. There is nothing cynical in a plain recognition that this also is a war for power.* All power corrupts, said Lord Acton, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. And because of that conviction, it bears a sinister name. Yet power, *as Machiavelli perceived,* is the very stuff of politics, the deciding factor in public and international affairs. . . . What must settle the future of humanity is to whom it belongs and how it is used. In the hands of the West, even though they falter, power will be employed in one fashion; in German hands, it will be employed in another. And such being the stark contrast *none but the frivolous still can wonder what the war is all about."* I wonder where the author received his college training, but I am informed he "lived in Oxford and London for eight years," and not in fascist Germany.

III

BEFORE we come to Professor Spykman of Yale, we will take a short glimpse at Kurt Bloch's mimeographed memorandum on Far Eastern Post-War Problems, published in May, 1942, by the Institute of Pacific Relations, to show that when Professor Spykman speaks, he does not speak alone. Since this comes from a research institute, it is classified here in the academic group, which is idiotic, in this case. Throughout this group, I have never seen one trace of moral sentiment, moral sentiment being out of bounds for research scholars who are interested only in facts such as geography and products. The academic dilemma in modern scholarship that in order to be "scientific" we cannot properly handle human sentiments—in other words, the enforced amorality of the academic point of view —had better quickly be solved by Western thinkers, or we must have as a natural result international amorality in human relations. The elimination of conscience has come from the top, not from below, from the educated, not from the uneducated. Consequently, if we are to continue to live safely together in peace, as surely we must, we must rely on the judgments of the New York taxi-drivers, and not of a Yale professor of international relations.

One quotation should be enough. Mr. Bloch's idea with regard to China is international control of Formosa and Burma and Indo-China, not so much as a check against Japan, but as substitutes for the checks against China in the outdated railway and port zones. He writes: *"Given the broader range of modern implements of war, the establishment of narrow port and railway zones*—as established in China by various 19th century arrangements (South Manchuria Railway Zone, Boxer Indemnity Protocols concerning the Tientsin-Peking Railway, etc.)—*is no longer satisfactory*. The strategic interests (*sic!*) of China would seem, *therefore, to require some kind of international control* over both Indo-China and Burma with strong, though not decisive, Chinese participation." Mr. Bloch continues: "If American-British interests were assumed to be in opposition to Far Eastern powers other than Japan, i.e., if they were predicated upon some 'inevitable' future conflict with China or the Soviet Union, *doubts might be raised as to the advisability of strengthening the Sino-Soviet position in the Far East,* as outlined under A. and B. To forestall the growth of such conflicts, however, *the international condominium of the Trans-Pacific strategic area constituted by the Mandated Islands* (and possibly Liu Chiu and Bonin Islands), *Philippine bases and Formosa, combined with international control over Burma and Indo-China would seem to constitute a safeguard."* Note that the phrase, "international control," is not conceived as control by the United Nations, but as an apparently benevolent but actually hostile control by America and Britain against China.

Finally we come to Dr. Nicholas John Spykman, professor of International Relations at Yale since 1928, and until recently, Director of the Yale Institute of International Studies. His book is "America's Strategy in World Politics." With all his learning, Professor Spykman cannot escape the verdict of being totally lacking in the moral sense, when he says, *"Unless the United States* [after the war] *continues to struggle until she has defeated not only her enemies, but also her former allies, the post-war period will begin with an international society composed of numerous independent states,"* which is a contingency the professor dare not contemplate. The context on the previous page makes it clear that by "enemies" the author means Germany and Japan, and by "former allies" he means Russia and China. How many millions of American boys must shed their blood in order to crush both China and Russia never concerns the learned man. If it did, he would cease to be objective and make a disgraceful display of such human emotions as justice and the revulsion against killing fellow men. Professor Spykman has forgotten about God. His reply is that his subject is geopolitics, and God and geopolitics are separate. My reply to that is that they should not be separate, or we should be debasing the human intellect in the name of science. This dilemma exists everywhere and must be faced quickly.

The matter is more serious than it looks. It is of this book that Dr. Isaiah Bowman, President of Johns Hopkins University, says, "On grounds of merit and public value it should be read in not less than a million American homes. *Every Government official responsible for policy should read it once a year for the next twenty years."* "Lest we forget—lest we forget," I might add.

Now why did President Bowman recommend this book so highly? The reason is

easy to understand. It is a serious, informative, and very well-written work. Its main thesis is the United States and the balance of power, and since the theory of balance of power has dominated European politics for the past three centuries, one should be informed of such facts. I do not regret purchasing this volume for my library. How then could Professor Spykman champion such terrible conclusions? It is because in his final chapter, he still maintains that academic, impartial standpoint of a historian, or a Martian. He does not say his conclusions are moral or immoral; he merely outlines what he believes to be future developments on the basis of past facts of history. He says more often "This will be the development," than "This should be the development," although occasionally he lapses into the latter form. On the whole, the tenor of his conclusions tends to recommend that realistic, amoral, and immoral approach. It never occurs to him that, since the theory of balance of power has embroiled Europe for the last three hundred years, a change might be made in another direction, so that post-war collaboration with Russia and China might be based on sincere good will and co-operation; on the other hand, he intends to apply this balance of power to Asia now, and to see that Russia, China, and Japan are kept so evenly balanced that they can continue to slaughter one another for at least another three hundred years, following the noble example of Europe. This being the essence of his conclusion, he is able to look upon future human history from the height of a geopolitician's or a Martian's point of view. As a geographer, he makes no distinction between England and Japan, because of their geographical similarities with regard to their respective continents. But we had better read a bit of American geopolitics.

On the hegemony of England and America, the professor says objectively, "The Anglo-American federalists present their program as a first stage in the creation of a world federation and they concede that other states, upon certificate of good behavior, will eventually be permitted to join. The fact remains, however, that in the meantime the union is expected to function as a hegemony. . . . The response to any plan for a permanent Japanese-American-British hegemony based on sea power would inevitably be the creation of a counter-alliance by the great land powers. The integration of the Eurasian land mass by force . . . would then take place through voluntary co-operation because Germany, Russia, and China would find themselves encircled and in need of combining their strength. An alliance of the insular continent of North America with the two off-shore islands [Japan and England] facing the Eurasian land mass would have great merits from the point of view of the territorial defense of the Western Hemisphere, but it *would not be strong enough to rule the world and it would leave England and Japan in extremely exposed positions.*" This conclusion seems to be not entirely satisfactory in the professor's mind.

We can now understand his recommendations with regard to creating a balance of power in Asia. The "Asiatic Mediterranean" (Philippines, Dutch East Indies, etc.) must be under this Anglo-American hegemony because of rubber and tin. But "the preservation of a balance of power will then be necessary not only because of our interest in strategic raw materials but also because of what unbalanced power in the region could do to the rest of the world." The professor goes on to explain why. *"The main difficulty of the post-war period will be not Japan, but China.* . . . A modern, vitalized, and militarized China of 450 million people is going to be a threat not only to Japan, but also to the position of the Western Powers in the Asiatic Mediterranean. . . . Her geographic position will be similar to that of the United States in regard to the American Mediterranean."

To the author's profound regret, he finds that "It will be difficult to find public support in the United States for a Far Eastern policy based on the realities of power politics. . . . This tradition is tied up with a pro-Chinese and anti-Japanese orientation. . . . Public opinion will probably continue to see Japan as the great danger. . . . If the balance of power in the Far East is to be preserved in the future as well as in the present, *the United States will have to adopt a similar protective policy toward Japan* [similar to what she has adopted toward England in the two World Wars]. *The present inconsistency in American policy will have to be removed.*" There the author has reached a height of understanding far above that of the New York taxi-driver, and the perception of such rare truth gives the author a justifiable pride in his scholarship.

IV

BUT the whole point of this article is that I accuse modern Western scholarship of being amoral, which is a splendid attitude in regard to the natural sciences, but downright decadent in the sphere of human studies. I maintain that academic attitude, deprived of warm emotions for our fellow men, is a dangerous attitude to teach in our college classrooms. I maintain that this trend of thought has produced a Hitler, and might produce more Hitlers in the future, wherever this type of mental attitude prevails. I maintain, further, that this method of strict objectivity, useful in natural sciences, is unreliable and dangerous in the human sciences. I maintain that objective thinking in human relations is an impossibility, and never exists.

I maintain this, because first of all, in the final weighing of conclusions, after the assemblage of facts, the decision is always a subjective process, involving evaluation of imponderable factors, never reducible to facts and figures. An example of the failure of the objective method is the isolationist position of Charles A. Beard. In the final weighing of divergent facts, to arrive at an isolationist or anti-Axis stand, the emotions not only do, but also *should* enter into our consideration, or we are debasing the intellect and the conscience that God has given us.

Secondly, in the realm of human affairs, psychological facts and factors could never be assessed with anything like the accuracy in the scientific measurement of electric volts or radio waves. Outstanding cases are Russian and Chinese morale. If anybody ever took painstaking trouble to assemble facts, the Germans certainly did. The odds looked all in their favor; but the odds do not look that way now. If the Germans could be wrong, so could we.

Thirdly, we all place different values upon such human factors, making objectivity impossible. The fact that the Japanese are a warlike nation, and the English are a peace-loving nation has a certain significance for me, but not for Professor Spykman. The fact that the Japanese are warlike and aggressive and the Chinese are peace-loving and essentially democratic in spirit should be a deciding factor in choosing our partners for the post-war world; but it does not seem so to Professor Spykman, who only looks upon the map spread out before him and is intellectually intrigued by the similarities in geographical positions between England and Japan. Who is really objective, and who can say that he alone is correct?

Fourthly, our emotional bias inevitably steps in. Professor Spykman notes that China's position in the Far East is similar to that of the United States in North America. Nevertheless, through personal bias, he thinks of the necessity of creating a strong Japan to check China, while he would never for a moment think of creating a strong Mexico to check the United States. That final decision is emotional and not objective.

Fifthly, back of all such fascist thought, is the fashionable determinism of modern scholarship. Determinism always spells irresponsibility, as if we were by necessity helpless to create a better world to live in. The taxi-driver has the courage to say, "This world of eternally recurring wars is bad; let's change it." The determinist, objective professor has not the heart to say it, but must say, "It is bad, and will continue to be bad." There is a curious intellectual pleasure in such Satanic predictions, but it is not going to help build a better world. The elimination of conscience from Western scholarship has gone far enough.

Sixthly, the world is not so simple as these pseudo-scientists like to imagine. What the unpredictable effects of Anglo-American domination by an overwhelming force will be the best geopoliticians cannot tell us. The normal human reaction against all threats of force, the corruption that will set in with power, and the guilty conscience that follows corruption, the dilemma of sending American boys to help England fight a native insurrection in New Delhi or Calcutta, the absolute certainty of the willingness of Russians, Chinese, and Hindus to be bombed to pieces and sullenly continue to resist, the meeting of violence with non-violence by the Hindus which should burn Christian cheeks, the groaning and public dissatisfaction with the crushing burdens of taxation for armaments—all such things are bound to follow in its wake, resulting in a violent reaction such as followed the Versailles Treaty.

The advocates of such sheer domination by force have not even the wit to see that such things are bound to happen. In any case, the guilt of arming against Russia and China will lie heavily on the American conscience, and moral defeatism will set in long before an actual war between the races sets the final and greatest conflagration of the world.

The Price of NATIONAL FREEDOM

An Englishman's Note on "I am an American Day"

by

NORMAN ANGELL

A MONTH or so ago, a Sunday was set aside as the day upon which the people of the United States should celebrate their just pride in citizenship of the greatest republic on earth; their membership of the greatest and most powerful democracy history has known; as a day upon which they might pause for a moment of rededication to the defense of its freedom. Such a celebration and rededication were surely fitting, because the people of this country are now aware that their freedom must be actively defended, since it is in great peril from those who would destroy it.

This last fact itself is so staggering, so monstrous, that one may doubt whether all its implications are even yet realized with any vividness. The very rapidity with which events have moved this last year or two, and particularly this last six months, has made it difficult to grasp the full meaning of what is taking place. There has simply not been time to revise very clearly certain old deep-set convictions now in conflict with the facts. There is, after all, something fantastic, almost contrary to common sense, in the notion that this, of all countries, with resources unequalled by any other in the world, unequalled in the self-reliance and mechanical genius of its people, protected by great oceans on both sides—that such a country should be in danger from nations on the other side of the world, already engaged in a struggle with China, Russia, the British Empire. We do not yet, perhaps, face without blinking and disguise, the strange fact that both the United States and the British Empire have been forced to retreat before the power of Japan, a state which less than a century ago was a hermit kingdom of feudal structure, with no modern weapons, no modern industrial equipment. I doubt whether we have really asked ourselves how it has been possible that two nations whose combined population does not amount to one-tenth of the world's population should, having already conquered a score of countries, threaten now the conquest of the world; how it is possible that one-tenth should menace the nine-tenths.

This, I suggest, remains the most significant fact in the present struggle, raising the question which most needs clear answer. By what secret has the lesser overcome the greater, the potentially less powerful subjugated the potentially more powerful? By what means have vast masses been defeated and enslaved by a relatively tiny group? An immense majority conquered by a quite small minority?

The fact behind those questions is terrifying in its possibilities. For it means that if men cannot learn the secret by which the minority imposes its power on the majority, then the great mass of us will always be the victims of

such minorities; that the multitude of ordinary folk will always be unable to defend themselves and their freedoms against the evil violence of the few. It is one of the ultimate problems of democracy.

Think for a moment what has happened—what had happened even before Pearl Harbor. Virtually the whole of Continental Europe, twenty nations whose combined populations are at least twice that of the United States, including ancient Democracies and including the French Republic boasting the greatest military traditions of history, had all been overcome—for the time being wiped out as free nations—by a single state of eighty million which, less than two decades earlier, had been utterly defeated and a few years before had lain prostrate and helpless. How has this thing happened? We talk of the ruthlessness and wickedness of a little gang of evil men as though that explained the phenomenon. But it is no explanation. There have always been evil men; always will be. If a dozen gangsters were to break out of some American prison and establish themselves in Washington, shutting up Congress, dissolving the existing Government, and were to make themselves masters of the Union, the important fact in the phenomenon, the fact needing explanation, would not be the wickedness or cleverness of the escaping jailbirds, but the failure of a hundred and thirty million law-abiding Americans to deal with them.

There have been other equally inadequate explanations of this domination of the many by the few. Some of us asserted that this score of nations which had lost their freedom, or seen it placed in mortal peril, had become soft, or corrupted, or pacifist, or had refused to arm; or had refused to make the necessary social and economic changes to meet the wave of the future; or insisted upon profiting by the bad settlement of 1918, a bad status quo. Well, test those familiar explanations by the facts. Were the Czechs unarmed, or did the Greeks or the Poles refuse to fight? The Czechs possessed one of the greatest armament factories of the world and the Greeks fought with a valor unequalled since Thermopylae; Norway and Denmark had become models for the world in so adapting their economic system as to make it serve the needs of the nation as a whole. And does anyone suggest that Norway and Denmark and Belgium and Holland have lost their freedom because they utilized the Treaty of Versailles to do injustice to Germany? No, in making such explanations, even though they may contain some element of truth, we evade what is not merely the most obvious truth, but the most fundamental and the most important.

The present condition of the world, the fact that the freedom of all Democracies is in peril, that every free nation today has to fight for its survival, is explained by this: those nations have repudiated the simplest, the most elementary of the moral truths upon which organized society is based, the one obligation upon which freedom and peace must depend. The basis of all humane civilization is that the community, whether it be a community of persons or of states, shall use its combined power to defend its members against violence; all shall stand for the defense of each. Certain primary rights, like the right to life—without which no other right is of any value—must be defended collectively, by the co-operation of the community, or they cannot be defended at all. We recognize this within the limits of the nation. If, when a person were murdered, the community as a whole said, "Well, after all, it is no affair of ours; it is not our quarrel; let the parties concerned settle it. Why should we spend our taxes on police and courts interfering in the quarrels of others?"—if we said that, then there could be no peace, no order, no right, no law, no justice, no civilization. If each man, each household, each political party, each trade union, each church, each organization had to defend itself by its own power, we know that the whole thing would disintegrate into lawless conflicts of bitter violence.

The basic truth I am trying to suggest, and which we have all repudiated is this: if we will not defend the freedom, the vital rights of others, then inevitably we reach a situation in which it becomes impossible to defend our own.

These states of Europe have perished as free nations because each said in effect: "We refuse to be concerned in defending the security of the rights of others; we will defend only our own." Because all said this in one form or another, they were all at Hitler's mercy; however much they armed. A Norway or a Denmark might devote 90 per cent of all its national resources to arms and still be at his mercy. How could a Norway of less than three millions defend itself by itself against a Germany of eighty millions? The more these Democracies

armed while refusing to co-operate for mutual defense, the better were the Nazis pleased; for they knew that, given this one condition of separate and individual defense, the arms they piled up would by their inevitable conquest become instruments of nazi power. The vast armaments of Czechoslovakia, the great arsenal of the Skoda works, became part of the armament of Germany without the firing of a single shot because the men of Munich had for years made their slogan: "We will not defend others, only ourselves." The slogan had eaten into the heart of France where so many had said not merely, "Why should we fight for the Czechs?" but also, "Why should we fight for the English?" It had eaten into the heart of many English, who, years before, had said, "Why should we fight for the Manchurians, or the Chinese, or the Abyssinians, or the Spanish Republicans, or for Danzig, or the Rhineland?" From the moment that Hitler could get those whom he desired to conquer to be guided by such slogans he knew full well that they would be at his mercy, for he could pick them off one by one, applying the most hackneyed device of conquest and tyranny: divide and rule. After all, ten men can overcome a thousand, if the thousand say that each will defend himself individually, not in co-operation with the others, for in that case the ten do not face a thousand, they only face one; one at a time.

II

NOW, I do insist that we are here confronting a fact self-evident and undeniable. Indeed our governments and peoples now no longer deny it; we act upon it. We know now that the defense of China or of Russia is part of our defense; the defense of Australia part of America's defense. We in Britain now know that if China can put up a good defense, keep the Japs busy so that Russia need not keep large forces on the Siberian border, and can concentrate them against the Germans so that the Germans are not so free to raid British cities, then Plymouth or Coventry sleep more soundly. They sleep more soundly because China is fighting well against aggression on the other side of the earth.

But let us be honest. This truth which today we regard as completely self-evident, as platitudinous, is a truth which the majority everywhere a few years ago repudiated as dangerous nonsense. When some of us in England, ten years ago, argued that it was part of the defense of Britain to aid China in her resistance to Japan, we were very commonly described as fantastic cranks, as war-mongers. It was, we were told, plain madness for Britain to interfere in an obscure quarrel between nations on the other side of the earth. Yet the risks of aiding China then, before Hitler had come to power, before Germany had re-armed, before the Axis had been formed, when it was a physical impossibility for Japan to have rained bombs on London, were relatively small. In a situation where the risks were small, we refused angrily, passionately, to adopt a policy which we now adopt when the risks and difficulties are many, many times greater.

I suggest to you this: if we had applied ten years ago resolutely the policy of aiding the victim of aggression to defend himself, we should not now be at war at all. It is a simple statement of history to say that because we in Britain were blind ten years since to this obligation of civilized men to take their part in resistance to criminal violence, because we were unmoved by the shattering of homes in China by the invader, we now have to witness the ruthless destruction of ancient English shrines, every stone of which speaks to us of English lore. Because we would not listen to the cries of Chinese children massacred by the invader, we have been compelled since, night after night, to listen to the cries of English children, victims of that same invader's ally; Englishmen have had to dig with their bare hands in the rubble which, a moment before, was their home to reach the dead bodies of their children.

Why did we not see early, when recognition would have prevented catastrophe, what we see late, after catastrophe? Why were we blind before the event to what seems self-evident after the event? Why did we not see that only by defending the rights and freedoms of others, could we defend our own?

And it is worth noting that this need of standing together, of being ready to defend others as the indispensable condition of any kind of common action for defense, is a principle which has been recognized and acted upon a good many times in American history. When the thirteen Colonies out of which this Republic has grown faced what they regarded as tyranny, one elder statesman put the case quite clearly when he said that they had to hang together or be hanged separately. Europe

refused to hang together and most of it is being hanged separately. But it was not only in the eighteenth century that America recognized this principle. She recognized it when, at the suggestion of a British Minister and with the aid of the British Navy, she said to the then Totalitarian States of Europe: "You shall not encircle us by picking off one small republic on this hemisphere after another. We shall defend these lesser states as a necessary part of our own defense." Lincoln stated the same truth in another form when he declared that the political disintegration of this country would be the prelude to the destruction of democracy on this hemisphere, and faced one of the bloodiest wars of history just for the one purpose of ensuring that men who believed in freedom should continue to stand together and not be divided.

III

WELL, you may say, this standing together of civilized nations for defense means something in the nature of a League of Nations, and experience proves that the League won't work.

Let me remind you of something. When the colonies of South and Central America obtained their independence, there followed for some of them a period lasting several generations of very great disorder—disorder tempered by military dictatorship. Some of them adopted most admirable constitutions, copying in several cases almost exactly the constitution of the United States. But these excellent constitutions did not prevent revolutions every six months or so. What is the conclusion from that experience? That constitutions are no good and constitutional government worthless? We know that that is *not* the right conclusion. The right conclusion is that for any constitution to be successful, those who are to work it must have some sense of what is indispensable to its success, must have a lively sense of the obligations which the constitution calls for. Incidentally we might remember that the Weimar Republic had a perfectly model constitution, one of the most democratic in the world.

Though in Britain we have no constitution in the American sense at all, yet we maintain order fairly well. The League failed, not because its constitutional form was defective, (though it may have been), but because its constituent members did not fulfill the obligation by which alone any constitution or plan can work. And we would not assume that obligation because we had no compelling moral sense that it *was* an obligation. We did not believe that we had moral obligations of that kind to foreigners; any obligation to defend *their* right to national life.

But there was a lesser, less ambitious League of Nations—that of the Dominions of the British Commonwealth—which did work; and the fact has significance in this connection. Why did Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, all come into the war within a week of Hitler's first military attack? They were under no statutory or legal obligation to join with Britain. Their constitutional position gave them the right to remain neutral if their parliaments so decided. But they did not remain neutral, although in their countries, too, isolationist sentiment had been strong—after all Australia and New Zealand are a pretty long way from Poland, the invasion of which country brought them, like Britain, into the war. And the fact that they did come into the war from the beginning has had an immense influence upon its course. If Canada had decided to adopt the line of Eire and remain entirely neutral, it would have had some effect at least upon the subsequent policy of the United States in respect of such matters as the revision of the neutrality act and Lend Lease during the two years which preceded Pearl Harbor. If Australia and South Africa had refused naval and air bases alike to Britain and the United States, had voted for complete neutrality, for an independence of the war as complete as that for which Southern Ireland has voted—and the British Dominions had the statutory right to do that thing—then it is certain that the position of Japan and Germany would have been immeasurably more favorable today from their point of view than it is. It is hardly extravagant to suggest that, but for the fact that Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Canada joined Britain at the outbreak of the war, Hitler's Gauleiter might today be issuing orders from Buckingham Palace; and Scotland Yard have become the headquarters of his Gestapo.

How was this degree of unity in the lesser League of Nations which we call the British Commonwealth achieved? I do not believe that the explanations sometimes given, about the affection which the dominion folk feel

for Britain, is adequate, or even true. The Australian is apt to be critical of the British; always has been. Other states of the Commonwealth are by no means entirely British. Canada is largely French; South Africa largely Dutch. General Smuts, who stands like a rock for the maintenance of the alliance against Hitler, is a Boer who has actually commanded armies that fought against Britain in years gone by. But all those States have recognized that each could not of its own power defend itself adequately; that it was in some degree dependent upon the British fleet, British coaling stations, British fortified positions, which encircled the earth. And they recognized, moreover, that if they were to benefit from this defensive system without subserviency and without inequality, they must make a contribution to it; that if there is to be a partnership, even a purely defensive partnership, on a basis of equality, there must be give as well as take on each one's part. Equality of right implies equality of obligation. So each Dominion said to Britain in effect: "Since your power protects us, we will see that it is not destroyed." And Britain said: "Since you are necessary to our defense, we will, of course, defend you." There was, in other words, a sense of mutual obligation. And that sense, because it was active—helped, it may be, by old symbols and old associations—made elaborate constitutional provisions unnecessary.

It may be argued, of course, that it was precisely this sense of common allegiance which made possible a common action for mutual defense, which cannot be expected of nations that have no common past. That is precisely why it is necessary to find, as a cement for our twenty-six United Nations, a common moral impulse which goes deeper than a common history, something which will make possible that international co-operation for mutual defense without which national freedom cannot be preserved at all. History can divide as well as unite. Hitler recognized that when he used the dormant anti-British sentiment of certain sections in France to separate that country from Britain—and he may be using the same weapon now in this country for the same purpose of separating his enemies, of breaking up their unity so that he may destroy them individually.

Nothing is easier to urge than unity; nothing easier to break if we nurse ancient grudges, exacerbate old feuds, feed tribal hates. Hitler knows this and knows that his defeat is certain if the United Nations manage to hang together and his victory and our defeat is certain if only he can manage to separate the United States from Britain, as he managed to separate France from Britain. Hardly less perilous would be our position if China and Russia were separated from the war.

The moral impulse which alone can keep our unity—and so give us victory—must be something which can overcome differences of race or color, or dislikes having to do with national manners or customs. When, within our respective nations, we stand against murder and insist that it shall be restrained, we don't first inquire whether the victim of the murderer was a nice person, or whether his manners were irritating, or what his religion was. We may not agree with the social or economic theories of the Russians; we may regard them as wrong. It is none the less sound morality for us to help Russia defend her right to national life, as we expect her to help us defend ours. Unless for certain ends we can cooperate with those from whom we differ in race and outlook, we cannot maintain civilization at all. We talk a great deal at present of maintaining morale—and sometimes use the word as though it were synonymous with courage. But surely it is much more a matter of not allowing unity to be broken by differences over minor matters. The French are as brave as the British; but divisions within France were such that Vichy became possible and the country was delivered over to the enemy. There were no such bitter divisions in Britain. Despite some talk of the class war, Churchill, the Conservative and aristocrat, could work side by side with Bevin, the Trade Unionist truck driver, cordially, completely. The differences remain, but the common purpose for which they work together is greater than the differences which divide them.

IV

THE matter was once put to me by an old Trade Unionist thus: "If you and I are walking down the street and we see two drunks pummelling each other, we do well to walk on and take no notice. For some years, we have watched drunken nations on the continent pummelling each other and we did not see what we could do. But if, when we walk down the street, we see a number of gangsters

beating an old woman to death or mistreating a child, and we then say, 'This is no affair of ours; let's keep out of it; we might get hurt'; —if we do that, we do something abominable, and if we continue to shun our duty about it, God will punish us and our people."

It seems to me he stated the moral issue here. We are not excused for doing nothing to save the old woman or the child because we don't like the manners or habits of those who might help us in the job. We are concerned today to defend the right of nations to life, the right not to be destroyed, killed, tortured. If that right is not secure, no others can be of value. If each is left to defend that right for himself, then it is at the mercy of any lot of criminals who may gang up to pick off their chosen victims one by one, knowing that each victim will be unaided by the others. So long as men insist upon purely individual defense, each indifferent or neutral when others are the victims of violence, then the mass of men, the community of nations, unorganized for defense, are at the mercy of any minority organized for aggression. *The price of national freedom is the international organization of its defense. Without a workable internationalism there can be no worthwhile nationalism.*

This expresses in political form a truth which we proclaim weekly in our churches, and no one believes, the truth that we are members one of another, that we cannot live, literally cannot have national life, to ourselves alone. The corporate body of civilization must defend its members; or perish.

I am not one of those who believe that the best way to secure peace and freedom is for the English-speaking nations—the United States and the British Commonwealth—to dominate the world. That would be an extremely bad use of our power. But I do believe that there can be no peace or freedom if the English-speaking nations are weak and divided. If the United States and Britain quarrel, then the twenty-six United Nations cannot remain united; if we cannot work together, who can? English-speaking unity and co-operation are not of themselves sufficient; but they are indispensable. There must be a wider co-operation than that. But if that goes, all goes. Of course, we may abuse power. Is the remedy for that danger to be found in both of us being weak? But that would only confront us with new dangers. The remedy is to see that power is used as the means by which others shall enjoy the rights we demand for ourselves.

Coming from Britain somewhat over a year ago, I heard at that time a good deal of the battle of Britain. Even then I insisted that it was no battle for Britain that was being fought. It was at least the battle of Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium, Poland, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia; the battle of China, of the people of France, the people of Italy, and of the people of Germany. Today it is also—as it was in reality then, though less visibly so—the battle of Russia and of America. Today we all of us fight that common battle for elementary human right; for the freedom of the nation and of man.

REALITIES AND ILLUSIONS about ITALY

by

Carlo Sforza

JUST because I love Italy even more in her days of trial than in her periods of glory, I am going to describe the present psychological conditions of my country—and study certain strange persistent illusions abroad—with the same objectivity with which we might discuss the wars between Rome and Carthage. It is our duty toward our countries to do so. In the present supreme struggle between freedom and barbarism there is no longer room for British preferences or for Italian reservations, for American or Russian or anti-Russian prejudices. We must love our countries, because this love is a natural law and a dynamic force, but we should never forget that the best way to serve our countries is to sacrifice everything—at least as long as it is necessary—to the essential, supreme goal: the destruction of fascism and nazism.

That is why, my duty being to state only the truth, I'll neither overrate the importance of the Italian factor (as most exiles used to do for each of their countries) nor underrate the importance of seeing clearly in things Italian. Those who, out of psychological or social prejudices, err today about Italy may err tomorrow about even more complex problems.

To win the war, and to win it as soon as possible, it is necessary that the millions of Americans who stand behind their brave soldiers and sailors realize that only one hope, one faith must find place in their hearts: to save America and American freedom and never to forget that partisan prejudices about the means of achieving victory may, in certain cases, amount almost to unconsciously helping the enemy. If out of my loyalty to this great country I dare say so, it is because I have only one advantage over most Americans: I have seen for years, day after day, citizens who thought that they loved their Belgium, their France, their Italy, their England, being led to do things which Hitler and Mussolini wanted them to do, although they had not the slightest idea that these things had been suggested to them by totalitarian agents.

We are, all of us, soldiers on a gigantic battlefield; and to do our duty on this battlefield, we must obey the following permanent rules: all that harms the dictators is good; all the enemies of the dictators are friends; all the friends—open or hidden—of the dictators are enemies. It is because too many Frenchmen did not obey these orders that France is now a ruin, not because of a pretended superiority of of German armies. We should never forget the total figure of German dead for the conquest of France—a few thousand—less than the cost of any week of fighting on the Italian or French fronts in the last war.

II

TO have been trained as a diplomat gives a man a quality which sometimes—in tragic moments—may turn out to be a shortcoming: the habit to remain silent about events and negotiations concerning which he might boast how right he was. Now I have no authority to give warning, but I am able to do something more modest, to offer testimony and therefore it is my duty to break my long silence.

A few days before the German invasion of Poland, I knew that it was to be war, and that the war would become a universal conflict. With certain important Italians in Italy with whom I was in close contact I realized that the fate of human freedom in the world and

the very independence and honor of our country were at stake. My compatriots approached me at once. (I was living on the French Riviera, only two hours from the Italian frontier.) "The army is against the war," they said, "the navy is against the war; the whole of Italy hates the idea of German hegemony, with the despicable exception of the Fascists who see in the forthcoming tragedy the only means to save their ill-acquired riches, and their skin. But if Hitler begins, Mussolini will follow; only the British and French ambassadors are blind enough not to see it. Hitler must not begin. The key is in Italy and, if the French understand, in France." They added, "If you can persuade the French Government to appeal to the Italian nation, above the head of a criminal regime, miracles may happen; even in the Balkans, the reaction may be thaumaturgic; and maybe Hitler will be frightened."

I knew that it was the truth, that these important Italians were speaking not only for Italy but for Europe. I went at once to Paris and offered to two of the most important ministers what they felt was a supreme chance. For a while they were tempted; but soon they began to hesitate. One of them even dared to admit that the danger of the plan was "the necessity of adopting an ideologic position; we may have to defend France, but we cannot give the impression that we think of an ideologic war for freedom and democracy."

At that moment I knew that France was going to lose the war. Her leaders were not prepared to save France; they were afraid—incredible but true—to identify the country of the French Revolution with the flag of freedom and of democracy; they were afaid to play her best card. It was these military leaders and cabinet ministers who defeated France. The French nation deserved a better fate. I saw with my own eyes the mobilization of 1938; before the Munich capitulation; I saw the mobilization of 1939. The French were ready to fight as bravely as they had fought from 1914 to 1918; what was lacking was the will to fight in certain spheres of the upper classes and among most of the military leaders. And it is not that in the upper classes there was a lack of physical courage; the only disease was a blind admiration for Mussolini and Hitler; too many rich French had swallowed the silly legend that destruction of freedom meant order and social conservation. It is a pity that a small but eloquent episode has been completely forgotten: When did all the French conservative newspapers, from the *Temps* to the *Action Francaise,* become fanatically enthusiastic for a new war, a new national crusade? When, the possibility appeared on the sky of political madness to send a French expedition to Finland in order to fight Russia although Germany was already at war with France.

In May, 1940, I went through another experience, again in connection with Italy. A few days before Mussolini's criminal declaration of war against France a group of compatriots of mine, fully as important as those of the year before, asked me to join them in a most unusual attempt to spare Italy an unjust, anti-Italian, unglorious war. We sent a message to the King, that supreme political institution which some Americans still consider necessary for the salvation of Italy; we entreated him to consider the mortal danger for Italy and even the inexpiable responsibility of the monarchy. What was the result, although some of the names were imposing? Complete silence, complete indifference. Yet in May, 1940, most of the generals were still against the war planned by Mussolini alone; in May, 1940, there was no German Gestapo in Italy, no German troops in Sicily. All the Italians were opposed to a war against England and France; and even more opposed to any fight on Germany's side. How is it possible to imagine that what did not not happen in 1940 may take place some day in 1942, as some go on dreaming?

Such illusions about Italy do not sadden me as an Italian. In spite of everything the future of Italy is in the hands of the Italians, and of the Italians alone. We are not afraid of foreign pressure. What troubles me is to see in such types of psychological errors the seed of the same mistakes which brought on France a terrible visitation.

What is sure, in any case, is that all these errors based, strange to say, on a pretended "realism," which is but a cynical parody of common sense, make it difficult to see the truth.

II

WHAT is the reality, what is the truth? At the end of 1941, strong pressure was brought on me by influential Italians in Italy and by very many Italians abroad, especially from Latin America, suggesting that my friends

and I ought to issue a manifesto. I do not like manifestos—from abroad. Although I do not feel myself an exile—am I not with all my soul in Italy?—declarations from abroad are always dangerous. But the views, the hopes and—why not?—the certainties I share with so many representative Italians were and are so clear in our minds that I admitted it had become necessary to state publicly our stand even on our most delicate post war problems. I did so in a letter to the *New York Times* which appeared in the issue of January 21, 1942.

It was secretly reproduced in Italy, and all the Italians whom I most like and respect—liberals, catholic-democrats, socialists—having succeeded in letting me know their warm approval, it is as an Italian document that I reproduce the essential points of my letter:

1. As soon as freed from the nazi-fascist oppression the Italian people will choose its political institutions.

2. All Italians will bow to the results of the free plebiscite. And if—as it is probable—a democratic Republic will have been the choice of the nation, all I hear from Italy gives me the absolute certainty that there will be no opposition and no grudge from any side; on the contrary. Did not one of the highest and oldest pre-fascist Italian dignitaries write a few weeks ago "How can we support suicide?"

3. But institutions matter little without men. And a free Italy will need men who know that the safest way to defend democracy and to promote the advent of a higher social justice is to impose the sternest respect of the law. These men exist even in the barren islands where fascism has deported them. After years of demagogic charlatans, Italy will know how to choose.

4. The old humanistic civilization of Italy will find the necessary equilibrium between freedom of the spirit and economic organization. A decentralization based on our best intellectual traditions will help to create the new atmosphere of complete freedom of thought, of press and, of course, of cult.

5. A judicial system completely independent will initiate the new era with the most severe sanctions on those who, in the highest ranks, betrayed their solemn oaths. Such a severe justice will make it possible to pardon those who sinned mainly out of fear or incomprehension, thus creating an Italy of peace, not of revenge.

6. The new Italian Government, just because composed of men who hailed the Atlantic Declaration of 1941 as a generous message of human justice, will have the authority to insist on an equitable distribution of raw materials the Italian people needs to maintain its admirable traditions of intelligent work.

7. We Italians know that these and other social and economic problems may be solved only in a world based on international solidarity, where there will be no more place for the anarchical independence of the nationalistic states. That is why free Italy will give the most ardent support to the advent of such an organized world. Is not the proof of the anti-Italian character of fascism given by the fact that our noblest intellectual traditions, from Dante to Mazzini, are more international-minded than elsewhere?

8. The Italians will co-operate with courage and serenity in the solution of any international problem concerning them; with only the condition that there will be no discussion of Italian problems as such but of Italian sides of European problems. Of course, in the Europe of tomorrow the nationalities must remain living flames of thought and art; but no more must they become pretexts for aggressions. As an Italian, I never forget that our immortal Mazzini wrote: "I love my country because I love all the countries."

Since then, the Italian reality was described by the honest, free correspondents of great American newspapers, as soon as they arrived, first in Lisbon and later on in this country, set free at last from the stifling fascist censorship. I shall reproduce here only a few essential passages from the illuminating letters of a most impartial observer, the conservative Herbert Matthews.

"It would be difficult to conceive of a Government with less popular consent than fascism today," he wrote. "Force keeps it going on, German force. . . . Whatever happens in this war, Italy has had enough of fascism. . . . Everyone who is politically minded is anti-fascist. . . . The fascist hierarchy represents a new and hated class in Italy. . . . The only

Fascists are those who profit materially through fascism and most of them are quite cynical about it. . . . Mussolini is disdained and laughed at, which is worse than being hated. . . . The king has lost the respect and probably earned the contempt of his people."

At this point, it is my duty to state clearly why those in America are wrong who still want to believe that Italy may be saved by an institution which, one of the ablest American correspondents says, "has earned the contempt of the people." After all, I owe my chief duty to my people; my people will judge this institution as soon as we are free; to prejudice the sovereign decision of the Italian nation, and even worse, to feign to be afraid of it, would really indicate a contempt for our nation which we do not deserve. Did we suffer some twenty years of fascism? It was a tragic error, shared —let us not forget it—by many "prominent" Americans, who showed the most indecent admiration of a regime which for the first time in the history of Italy put us at war with the United States. But our present critics should not forget that another great nation, France, accepted for about the same period of time a regime just as dictatorial and corrupt, the empire of Napoleon III; and that France, after the defeat of 1870, showed during the Third Republic a political maturity and intellectual courage which are, even today, the reasons her best friends have of hope for her future.

The distinguished American political writer, Walter Lippmann, has said recently that "unlike Germany, where the ancient institutions of the State have been badly ruined, the essention institutions of Italy have survived." I am afraid that it is in Germany and not in Italy that old institutions survive. We shall discover it on the eve of the victory, when the German General Staff will confront us with a new "good" Chancelor—some Niemoeller, for example, still kept alive for this purpose—in order to make true what a German ambassador told me three years ago: "We may lose a war; we'll never lose a peace." But if in Italy we have no surviving political institutions, we have something which matters much more: a highly civilized nation, a nation baptized ten centuries before the Germans, a nation endowed with a sound international spirit, a nation where a few years of fascist corruption and bestiality have been as useful as the drunken slave to the young patricians in the Roman forum.

III

BUT Italy lives and matters even out of Italy. About fifteen million Italians or sons of Italians in the two Americas are ready to serve the flag of freedom. And the Italians of Latin America have more influence there than the Irish in the United States; they might easily form, from Chile to Argentina, a precious leaven of enthusiasm for the cause of the United Nations. But everything is linked: revolt in Italy, proselytistic action of the Italians in America, creation of Italian Legions as in Garibaldi's time. And nothing of this sort will take place until Italy will hear a message of human faith, of international generosity, of hope in the future. On that day the Italians might surprise the world, as they did a century ago under the leadership of Mazzini, of Garibaldi, of Cavour. But not before.

Much has been said recently about the necessity of two fronts. What is just as necessary, and easier, is to add everywhere a moral offensive to the military offensive. Until now the moral front has been on the defensive, almost everywhere. The positive idea which must become the moral program of the United Nations and of the invaded nations has not been proclaimed strongly enough. Hitler and Mussolini have some sort of vulgar and satanic imagination. Our creative imagination is still thwarted by too many intellectual fears. With a little more imagination Americans might discover the dynamic possibilities of Italy, not for Italy's sake, (After all, Italy is immortal with her long centuries of history.) but for the sake of victory.

If old-fashioned tricks are now used on Italy, Italy will not respond, Italy will remain silent. But if America appeals to the Italy of Mazzini, of Cavour, of Garibaldi, the world will see. If America persuades Italy that she has decided to respect Italian feelings, Italian patriotism, if she makes Italy understand and believe that she wants to fight fascism and not Italy, that she hates fascism but respects Italy, the world will see.

When Italy feels that this is really a people's war which must end in a people's victory, the world will see my compatriots repeating the miracles of the Risorgimento, the miracles of Garibaldi when he destroyed an old corrupt monarchy with his Thousand of Marsala.

JANUS takes a knock

BACKGROUND TO THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY CONFERENCE

By

SYDNEY R. ELLIOTT

As this number of FREE WORLD was going to press, we received by air-mail Mr. Elliott's report on the momentous Labor Conference in England. It is an interpretation of the greatest importance to the understanding of the issues which are at the forefront of British political life today. It supplements the article, Popular Feeling in Great Britain, by H. Bisham-Holmes which appeared in our June issue. Mr. Elliott's warning that unless the Government's economic policy changes swiftly, the electoral truce whereby all parties are co-operating in a Coalition Government will have to be broken is already substantiated by news from England. Since this article was written, the British coal industry has been taken over by the Government. This is undoubtedly the first step in the nationalization of vital resources and industries demanded by the rank and file of the Labor party.

AN arithmetical symbol sums up the recent Labor Conference, its results, and its reactions. The symbol is the figure 2.

This was the second conference since the party, on the eve of Dunkirk, gave its leaders permission to take office under Mr. Winston Churchill.

Conference passed through two distinct phases, each lasting two days. The first phase was utterly unrealistic. Speakers demanding far-reaching social change were cheered to the echo by delegates who voted meekly for continued collaboration with Conservatives and Liberals on the basis of the *status quo*. But Conference's second phase was vital, realistic, portentous. The "floor" dominated the "platform." The voice of the people was translated into votes. Two mighty issues, one of them of special significance to the Labor party, both of them important to the future of British politics, were forced to the surface, although not to final decision.

II

THE internal issue emerged in the discussion on and in the party's decision to support the policy of Family Allowances. For several years past there has been a majority in the country, and probably in the House of Commons also, for Family Allowances. A falling birth rate has convinced many Conservatives of the need to create a social climate in which marriage might become more fertile, and they favor the endowment of childhood. Socialists, who have done much to pioneer the idea, advocate Family Allowances as an act of social justice and a new way of correcting the maldistribution of wealth.

Yet the Labor party, fearful of offending the trade unions whose block votes control its Conference, has hesitated to put the proposal in its program. Trade union opposition to Family Allowances, and to many similar schemes of social reform, is historical. It reaches back to 1909 when America, stirred in its bowels by Upton Sinclair's exposure of the bad meat racket, became so engrossed in the task of legislating for consumers that it forgot the plight of labor, while Great Britain, hit on the heart by the exposure of evil conditions in its factories, passed the Trade Boards Act to protect labor and overlooked the State's obligation to

guarantee the purity of labor's products.

It was not until the citizen-power of Great Britain expressed itself in the Trade Board Acts, and fixed minimum wages, that trade unionists were able to exert effective industrial power over the lower paid workers. This citizen-power exercised itself in other directions. Municipalities and consumer co-operative societies, employing mainly unskilled labor, began to make trade union membership a condition of employment. Thus a mighty impetus was given to a movement so varied in its organization that, in some engineering shops today, eleven trade unions operate, frequently in competition with each other, yet embracing one in four of all British industrial workers. A multiplicity of officials, in charge of a multiplicity of trade unions, found joint action for positive purposes difficult. One thing, however, they did feel in common: a reluctance to concede to citizen-power a capacity which they themselves did not possess to win improvements in the standard of living.

Moreover, trade union officials have a natural, perhaps a proper, interest in the wages system. This interest persists, despite the growing clamor of the people to be identified with society as citizens enjoying the economic rights of citizenship, rather than as hirelings and wage-earners who, when times are bad, can be relegated to the role of dole-drawers.

As expected, opposition to Family Allowances came from the Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, a small bottleneck union whose members are comparatively highly paid, backed by the General and Municipal Workers Union and the Transport and General Workers Union. The line-up in favor was interesting. It included local Labor parties, comprising the individual members of the party, and the National Union of Railwaymen and the Miners' Federation, two unions whose members are still on the sweated wage level. The proposal was carried by 1,718,000 votes to 690,000. Its appearance on Labor's program is not certain. It may be defeated at the next Trades Union Congress. But the T.U.C., under the shrewd, able leadership of Sir Walter Citrine, shows an increasing tendency to respond to public opinion. Maybe Family Allowances are in sight.

III

UNDERLYING the debate on the Electoral truce, which was upheld by a majority of only 66,000 on a vote of 2,464,000, is the most critical issue in British politics today—the issue of what *The Economist,* most reputable of British financial journals, calls "Economic feudalism."

The truce began quite modestly. It was an agreement whereby the parties avoided contesting by-elections. Opposed bitterly by the Communist party before June, 1941, even that party machine now supports it vociferously, bobbing up wherever a Parliamentary vacancy arises to endorse in advance the candidature of a Conservative who, as likely as not, will oppose the Second Front, and to prove that there is just nothing the Communist party does not stand for. The majority of vacancies are Conservative since the Conservative party holds 366 of the 615 seats in the House of Commons.

The fact that Conservative strength in Parliament is artificial and has long been unrepresentative of the country did not worry electors while the truce was merely Labor's sacrifice of its present political position to the national cause. Now, however, the truce has become much more than this. The "Dunkirk spirit" has not invaded the social and economic structure of Great Britain. Labor Ministers have been unable to influence seriously the method of giving legal sanction to private monopoly and handing over control of Big Business to the nominees of Big Business. Indeed, although Labor leaders once denounced these commodity controls, which now run British industry, as "capitalist conspiracies," a Labor Minister, when Minister of Supply backed by compulsory powers, made no attempt to disband the conspirators.

The cry for nationalization of transport, which was answered in the last war, has been ignored in this war. Private ownership of the mines was condemned in 1920 by a Royal Commission, and the position in the coal industry, besides having drifted beyond control either by coal owners or miners' leaders, has become menacing to the entire war effort. Yet there is no sign that the Churchill Government will undertake that complete reorganization which only full state ownership can now ensure. Every shipyard worker knows that without a large measure of state interference, British shipyards could not have borne the strain of attack by bomb and U-boat. At the height of the shipping crisis, however, the Government is engaged in negotiating the post-war position of shipping with the owners, and on a basis most favorable to the vested interests

which failed the country in 1939. Consequently, the electoral truce is interpreted by electors now as a sacrifice of more than Labor's present electoral position. It is a sacrifice of Labor's policy.

To the Labor Party itself, Labor Ministers constantly repeat the view that the Government is permitting no vested interest to stand in the way of the war effort. This means, plainly, that the Government, with the concurrence of Labor Ministers, has rejected any form of nationalization anywhere as a solution to the problems of industry in wartime. And the Labor party, placing nationalization at the head and front of its propaganda, sees the truce as a sacrifice of its electoral prospects. No political party will sacrifice gladly its present position, its policy, and its prospects even for a war effort, especially when it believes that the war effort is being retarded by "economic feudalism."

This "economic feudalism" is the child of the protectionism fostered by British monopoly interests in the eight years prior to 1939. It offended America. It sent economic nationalism running riot in Europe. It was a main factor in the denigration of the League of Nations. It produced, at home, terrible poverty, and contributed, abroad, to those evil elements which exploded in World War. Its future results—and they will not take eight years to reveal themselves—will be more mass misery and violent revolution. Neither Labor's millions of voters nor its thousands of devoted adherents are enthused by the sight of Labor Ministers sitting on a volcano which they pretend is not there.

IV

As the failure of "economic feudalism" became self-evident, so the electorate became restless. Most people agree readily that a General Election in wartime would be an undesirable distraction. They recall, however, that Parliament was elected in 1935, that its age-level is the highest of any Parliament in modern history, and that the age-level of the Labor party, the party of tomorrow, is so very high as to provoke the sneer that it is the party of the day before yesterday. They identify tendencies to encroach upon the liberty of the press with the official lack of enthusiasm for free by-elections. They dislike the proposition, frequently advanced by Ministers who would certainly lose office in a General Election, that the coalition should be projected into the post-war era.

These are the circumstances in which independent candidates, commanding only derisory votes a few months ago, are now destroying great Conservative majorities. The parties reacted to the independents' attack as the High Command reacted to the Nazi panzer parade through Poland. They assumed a Nelson pose and put blind eyes to their telescopes. Then, in panic, they promoted the simple electoral truce into a complicated political truce, each party leader sending endorsement coupons to the others' candidates. Now the Conservative newspapers argue that Labor's rank and file are irresponsibles seeking to advance their socialist cause under cover of national crisis. They suggest, further, that the seats falling to independents are seats which Labor might win at the next General Election, and incite Labor leaders to discipline their followers. As Conference showed, however, the Labor party is not deceived, even if Labor leaders have lost their grip on political realities. To date, independent gains have been in seats where Conservatives have held enormous and, hitherto, impregnable majorities.

The truth is that Toryism and the old tradition are dead in Great Britain today. The people want a New deal. They want it now. And the constituency Labor parties, in revolt against the truce, received such strong support from those big trade unions whose members are suffering most severely from the inefficiencies of the economic feudalists that the political truce is dead and unless Government policy changes swiftly, the electoral truce will not long survive it.

Labor's Conference denied its arithmetical symbol only in this matter. It made it difficult, if not impossible, for Labor leaders to recommend to the electors candidates tied to Tory policies, and to recommend such candidates against those seeking suffrages on a program of common ownership. Janus no longer presides over Labor's councils.

V

Two other votes hint at how the wind is blowing. Delegates whom Home Secretary Morrison twitted with being afflicted with an inferiority complex, rejected the Executive's proposal to support the organization of child labor on the land. Having repudiated com-

munist policies by a terrific majority, the delegates immediately called for the raising of the ban on the communist *Daily Worker*—a matter involving intimately the position of Mr. Morrison himself, since he imposed the ban. Mr. Morrison, member of the Labor Party Executive, must now indict Mr. Morrison, Home Secretary in the National Government! The majority in favor of the *Daily Worker* was small. It would have been overwhelming if the Communist party had not made itself obnoxious to Labor over the last twenty years. For radical England is reawakening, and many sections of the Labor movement regard themselves as the rightful heirs of the radical tradition which has given British democracy the quality that sustained it through the danger of defeat at Hitler's hands.

Critics of Labor's Conference complain that it might have been a pre-war conference or a post-war conference; anything but a middle-of-the-war conference. They forget that Labor's hatred of Hitler is too deep-rooted to require loud reiteration. They forget, too, that the purest products poured from the cruel crucible of war have been the real integrity, the rare skill, and the rich initiative of ordinary British folks of all classes. These folks believe they have entered "the century of the common man." They know that every proof of this belief afforded by social change now is a smashing blow at the enemy. They are the cross section of the British people for whom Labor speaks. They gird against a Government that has still to learn that one way to fight a people's war is to promote the people's cause. They greet, with admiration and affection, the Winston Churchill who can transmute the proud, steady beat of the English heart into the rousing accents of the English tongue, who may yet transform the hope in English hearts into dynamic reality. And that, the mood of Labor's Conference, is the proper mood for a living, fighting Democracy.

The Antithesis of Hitler

BY WILLIAM L. SHIRER

FOR one whose specialty is Germany and the personalities who today rule that unhappy country, it is a real pleasure *not* to write about an evil, criminal maniac by the name of Adolf Hitler. It is a relief to bury the thought of a man like Hitler and think of his antithesis in this world, a decent and a sane and honorable man—our President.

It has been very easy for me to admire Mr. Roosevelt. You may have thought over here that you have heard that man in the White House criticized rather severely. But in Germany, where an unkind fate forced me to spend so much of the only life I'll ever have, *there* they really *hated* Mr. Roosevelt.

For one thing, Hitler and Goebbels decided to make Mr. Roosevelt a Jew—so they could get their nazi cohorts to hate him more. This feat was not so difficult as you would think. Goebbels dug up some documents, so-called—or said he did. Germans are always impressed by documents, phoney or faked though they may be—and these were, of course, and they said that Mr. Roosevelt came from a Dutch Jewish family by the name of Rosenfeldt. And so to Dr. Goebbels, Mr. Roosevelt became Mr. Rosenfeldt. Later, I believe, Goebbels also "proved" Willkie to be a Jew. And the snake-like little *Doktor* heaped every insult on the President that he could think of—and his vocabulary is rather large in this field. Hitler did the same. He fairly flew in a rage at the very thought of Roosevelt's name.

Why all this hate of the President? The answer is simple. Hitler hated Mr. Roosevelt with all the venom in his poisoned soul because the President, who came to office at the same time he did, was the one single leader whom the Democracies developed—until disaster evoked Churchill in May, 1940. Roosevelt was the one single leader in the Democracies whom Hitler saw standing in the way of his plans for world conquest. In the fantastic failure of other Democracies to find real leaders, Hitler had been lucky. And he knew it. England had not found one since Lloyd George. France had not been able to find one since Clemenceau, unless you count Poincaré, who had a strong will but a mediocre mind. Mr. Roosevelt not only had a strong will but he had a good mind, and Hitler cursed the fact. Especially did he curse the way the President began to see through the peace overtures which he made to the Chamberlains and the Daladiers while he built up an army and air force that were to smash the world.

This foresight, this realism, made Hitler furious. But—and I'm afraid the American people, whose memories are so pleasantly short, at times, are apt to forget it—the President's ability to gauge what Hitler really was up to, what his goal was, saved this country of ours. It resulted in our being only half unprepared instead of entirely unprepared, when the enemy struck, as Mr. Roosevelt knew one day he would strike, if we didn't strike first. Too many other Americans, alas, thought that the President was an alarmist. Hitler spent millions in propaganda trying to make the American people think their President was needlessly alarming them. (The trial of George Sylvester Viereck showed us in what high places that propaganda was encouraged in our own country.) In the end, the propaganda failed. But only by a short margin. If you have forgotten how short that margin was, recall the close votes in Congress over retention of the draftees, or repeal of the Neutrality Law.)

Yes, Mr. Roosevelt saw through Hitler. And we can thank our lucky stars he did. But it was thrilling to be there in Berlin and to see how well Mr. Roosevelt saw through Hitler, and how Hitler hated him for it. I used to make entries in my Diary on the subject of which the following two are typical.

The first entry was made on July 20, 1940. "Berlin—Roosevelt has been renominated at Chicago. . . . This is a blow to Hitler which the Wilhelmstrasse scarcely hid today. . . . Hitler will now hope that Roosevelt is defeated in the election. The point is that Hitler fears Roosevelt. He is just beginning to com-

prehend that Roosevelt's support of Great Britain is one of the prime reasons why the British decline to accept his kind of peace."

The second entry is November 6, 1940. "Berlin—Roosevelt has been re-elected for a third term! It is a resounding slap for Hitler and Ribbentrop and the whole nazi regime. Because Roosevelt is one of the few real leaders produced by the Democracies since the war (look at France; look at Britain until Churchhill took over) and because he can be tough, Hitler has always had a healthy respect for him, and even a certain fear. . . .

"Since the abandonment for this fall of the invasion of Britain, Hitler has envisaged Roosevelt as the strongest enemy in his path to world power, or even to victory in Europe . . .

"Now the Nazis face Roosevelt for another four years—face the man who Hitler has told a number of people is more responsible for keeping up Britain's resistance to him than any other factor in the war, except Winston Churchill. No wonder there were long faces in the Wilhelmstrasse tonight when it became certain that Roosevelt had won."

Those faces are still long. And they will get longer as President Roosevelt leads this country on and on to final victory.

SUPPORT FROM THE HIGHEST AUTHORITY

An Editorial

MANY readers have doubted the expediency of our insistence and iteration on the need of a second front. There has been a feeling, voiced both officially and unofficially, that this insistence may prove embarrassing to the governments of the United Nations, and particularly to the Allied Command. Speaking for FREE WORLD, Mr. Dolivet challenged this point of view in the Round Table on Chances of Victory, which appeared in the December issue, with the statement: "If people ask for more warfare, it is a sign of sound morale, even if it is not reasonable. In my view, if I were in the British Government, I would see the demand for a second front as a sound sign of an increasing willingness to make all sacrifices. It is very rare when patriotism increases after two years of war."

Recently this statement was substantiated by the best authority. Broadcasting to the world on the tenth of May, Prime Minister Churchill declared: "We are urged from many quarters to invade the Continent of Europe and so form a second front. Naturally, I shall not disclose what our intentions are. But there is one thing I will say. I welcome the militant, aggressive spirit of the British nation, so strongly shared across the Atlantic Ocean. Is it not far better that in the thirty-second month of this hard war we should find this general desire to come to the closest grips with the enemy than that there should be any signs of war weariness? Is it not far better that demonstrations of thousands of people should gather in Trafalgar Square demanding the most vehement and audacious attacks than that there should be the weepings and wailings and peace agitations which in other lands and other wars have often hampered the action and vigor of government? It is encouraging and inspiring to feel the strong heartbeats of a free nation surging forward, stern and undaunted in a righteous cause. We must not fail them either in daring or in wisdom."

WEISSENSTEIN

World Reformer

by

FRANZ WERFEL

EUROPE in 1911! Golden sunset of an era that, even when most deeply troubled, seems like paradise to us today. Newspaper headlines neither breathed hatred nor ran with blood. A new opera, a daring book, a radical concept of art—those were the things that excited the world. The sensations of the day did not yet reek with the destruction and disenfranchisement of millions. The sinister psychoses that are today called "political ideologies," filled but the picturesque if unkempt heads of isolated dreamers, fools, and amateur apostles. Saviors of society and of nations, still in undisputed possession of their mental quirks, were lodged in flop-houses rather than chancelleries. One ran into them in the stuffy hangouts where the petty bourgeoisie interminably argued politics, or, at best, in the cafés patronized by the intellectuals. Those cafés in Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, nicknamed "Café Megalomania," were the breeding places for shifting art fads; more than that, they were among the intellectual witches' cauldrons where the nightmare of the future was brewed—a nightmare that has now taken on flesh.

Our story begins in one of these cafés. It lay on a street corner of mysterious Prague, the city of great towers, gloomy shadows, and oddly assorted eccentrics. When I was young, I was very fond of this café. The endless discussions through the haze of cigarette smoke exerted an irresistible fascination on me. It was that fatal atmosphere compounded of companionship and malice, of touching devotion and venomous, arrogant fault-finding. For every young artist such a "Café Megalomania" was the indispensable baptism of fire through which he had to pass. It determined whether or not he was to be admitted into the inner circle of the elect who had overcome the bourgeois within themselves. In rare instances the café became an amusing purgatory of fame, though in the eyes of the habitués even fame was counted an inexcusable relapse into bourgeois ways.

One foggy December night I sat in this café with my friends, though I was a soldier. I was just ending my year of military service as a corporal in the Imperial and Royal Artillery Regiment. Several weeks earlier my first book had appeared in print, a volume of verse entitled "Friend of the World." The little book had created a certain stir. (In Prague, my home-town, this kind of publicity was distinctly frowned upon.) Nevertheless, I had the advantage over my friends and fellows as an "author in print," benevolently patted on the back by some newspapers, sarcastically rebuked by others. As one who had already succeeded in drawing bourgeois fire, I was the center of our youthful table-round. I remember that we were discussing Dostoevski that night. Was there ever a night at any season when we did not argue about Dostoevski? He was the patron saint of our generation. It may well have been "The Idiot" we were discussing when a figure that seemed to have issued from the pages of that book approached our table. He was a tiny man, a gnome, a goblin of withered aspect, though undoubtedly still young. His hands were crossed on his belly in an odd manner; they dropped like leaves that had not quite unfolded. The gnome's head dangled against his right shoulder. It was a head so enormous that to do it justice one must call it by the medical term, hydrocephalous. The immense arch of his forehead was topped by a patch of fuzzy disheveled black hair. From beneath sparse eyebrows his beautiful dark eyes threw us a frightened look. Never since—not even in dumb beasts—have I seen

an expression in which fear, avidity and melancholia were so perfectly blended and alloyed. In sharp contrast to the gigantic cranium and the sad eyes stood an abnormally small, cherry-red, heart-shaped mouth—the mouth of a child, though it revealed more gaps than teeth when it was opened. Twice the gnome circled our table. His tremendous head slumped deeper and deeper against his right shoulder. Quite evidently it was much too heavy for the scrawny neck. My attention was attracted to the somber and threadbare cutaway suit that engulfed the tiny figure like a shapeless sack. The garment seemed to have been handed down to the dwarf from the wardrobe of a giant. Suddenly I felt the creature step behind me. A whispered voice struck my ear, a voice in which the vibrato of horror was mingled with the singsong tone in which children recite poems:

"Save me, Mr. W.," the manikin pleaded, "Wohrizek, the anarchist, is after my life. He wants to revenge himself. Look, over there. . . ."

"First of all, sit down," I said, moving to one side. The creature sank into the seat beside me, trembling all over.

"Who is Wohrizek, the anarchist, and how are you mixed up with him?" one of us asked, unable to hold back his laughter. The haunted man cowered and stared about the room: "He held a meeting today, in the Redouten Hall," he quavered. "Hundreds of workers were there, poor, decent men, all of them. Wohrizek spoke about the emancipation of women. But he's a liar, a fraud, a bully, an alcoholic—this anarchist Wohrizek. I rose and asked for the floor and said: 'If you favor the liberation of women, Mr. Wohrizek, how is it that you beat your own wife day after day?' There was a terrible uproar. And he swore he would kill me. Look, just look. . . ."

At an adjoining table a man had risen. He was, in truth, a picture-book anarchist—a curly head of raven hair, a flowing artist's tie, a knotty stick in his hand. He resembled the purveyors of obscene pictures on the Via Partenope in Naples. The man stared in our direction aggressively. I was not a particularly martial figure, but I did wear a uniform and carried a broad cavalry saber. I rose and returned the hostile gaze. The anarchist Wohrizek spat on the floor, took his slouch-hat and faded from the scene.

"You have saved my life. I am your humble servant."

"Who on earth are you?"

"I am Weissenstein."

"And what else?"

The huge head of our guest slumped almost to the dirty marble top of the table.

"I am the thirteenth child of my parents," he said. In a singsong voice that fused lyric pathos, mispronunciation, and a trace of stubborn self-abasement into a weird effect, Weissenstein began to tell us the story of his life. Despite its tragedy, we time and again broke out into cruel laughter. Weissenstein did not at all take our merriment amiss. It gratified him, as though it were a form of applause. As in the fairy-tale, the goblin had actually been a thirteenth child. His parents owned a liquor distillery and tavern somewhere in South Bohemia. Because he had grown up in an inn and because his misshapen figure had drawn the taunts of his brothers and sisters, of drunken peasants and traders, he had at an early age come to know the diabolical nature of alcohol. He hated liquor as he hated his father, the distiller of liquor.

One day—it happened to be the weekly market-day—the half-grown boy leaped atop the bar and, before the assembled customers, delivered a fiery speech against the firewater that gave his family its livelihood. In understandable fury over this business disturbance,

his father beat him within an inch of his life. Nevertheless, the scene was repeated the following market-day. Whereupon the old man packed the things of his thirteenth child into a small knapsack, slipped the boy a meager sum of money, and threw him out. Never again was he to darken the parental door. After wandering about for a brief while, Weissenstein found a job as a bus-boy in the near-by county seat. But destiny ordained that he jump from the frying pan into the fire. The tavern where he waited on table was also the most popular meeting-place of the district. Here alcohol played a less dangerous rôle than did politics. But politics was nothing more than the spiritual swill of the age. Very soon the alert eyes of the hydrocephalic bus-boy recognized the stripe of these politicians that strutted on the speaker's rostrum. They did not do what they said, and they did not say what they did. The socialists played poker with the factory owners in the backroom. The farm agent paid his bills from the welfare fund for crop and fire damage. And the chairman of the Civic Church League seduced the pretty kitchen-maid. The bus-boy was a witness to all these contradictions. Because of his poverty, he contained himself for a long time, silently watching this hell of lies. But then the same thing happened that had happened before. The bus-boy, a tray of beer glasses in his hand, broke in on a resplendent orator and raised his voice in indictment. From the heart-shaped child's mouth spouted the serpents and scorpions of truth. He was beaten and thrown out.

He was beaten a hundred times and thrown out a hundred times. From the most incredible positions and professions. In the heart of the thirteenth child sounded the fine poetic words, "Flaming justice." (True, the lava was mixed with a pungent smoke that time and again commanded laughter.) Small and wretched as Weissenstein was, the courage with which he opposed lies, injustice, and exploitation seemed to be boundless. He showed us the scars that covered his head and body, traces of an amazing campaign.

II

FROM that hour on the "Thirteenth" became a member of our circle. Early in the mornings he was in the habit of appearing at my lodgings, a newspaper in his trembling hand. He was the sheerest divining rod for every abomination that occurred. His sharp eyes would pick out the most heinous devilishness from the fine print of the local news. "Something must be done for unwed mothers," he would whine; "Do you know, Mr. W., that they beat the inmates in the municipal insane asylum? You ought to write a poem about it."

We tried to obtain regular employment for the "Thirteenth." He had learned the goldsmith's trade. "Gold is gold," he used to say. "No dirt there." After much persuasion a goldsmith took on Weissenstein as an assistant. Weissenstein disappeared for several weeks. When he appeared once more in the café, his massive head lolled and his eyes were bloodshot.

"People are bad," he whined, "Mr. Goldschmied wants to sue me for slander."

"What did you do this time, 'Thirteenth?' "

"Nothing! All I said was: 'Mr. Goldschmied, Mrs. Goldschmied is a Potiphar's wife.' "

"Weissenstein, you're incorrigibly brazen!"

"But it's true that Mrs. Goldschmied is a Potiphar's wife. Every day, when the old man was away, she came to me in her negligée and made me propositions. I told her off sharply. So she revenged herself and tormented me. And now my boss wants to sue me. Help me —I must leave this wicked town. I want to go to Vienna." Weissenstein was pale with terror. We got up the fare. We sent him to Vienna in the hope that the easy-going capital would offer a niche to the world reformer.

Three months later he was back among us. He greeted us in strange mumbled sounds.

When he opened his mouth, we saw that his last remaining teeth had been knocked out. Dolefully he responded to our questioning gaze:

"Yes, gentlemen, it went awry again. I had bad luck—this time it was religion." And then followed the affair with Huhn and Lamm. The scene was the lodging-house for men in the Wurlitzergasse, a flop-house become world-famous on account of the life-story of the present German Fuehrer. (He resided there at the same time as the "Thirteenth.")

Huhn was a Protestant student of divinity, Lamm a rabbinical candidate. These two down-at-heel would-be sky pilots had the misfortunte to be the world reformer's bed neighbors. What was bound to happen did happen. The "Thirteenth" bluntly charged the divinity student with conscious and deliberate lying in the matter of the Virgin birth. Then again, he caught Lamm, the rabbinical candidate, red-handed in the act of consuming a ham sandwich. Him, too, he unmasked as an infidel and a fraud. Whereupon the two denominations concluded a compact. During the night they fell upon the "Thirteenth" and belabored him while half the inmates of the flop-house roared approval. A free-for-all was started and the police had to go into action. Weissenstein was deported back home as an undesirable vagrant.

The tales about the "Thirteenth" are legion. But I must get on. Even the affair of the blind girl I can mention but in passing. The world reformer had made the acquaintance of this blind girl and wanted to marry her. "She can't see that I'm an ugly monster. She won't deceive me. How wonderful it will be to lead a poor creature tenderly through the world—a creature utterly dependent on one." A little while later it turned out that the blind girl had been lying, that she was not particularly blind, since with her one good eye she was quite able to discern the striking contours of her strange betrothed. The disappointed man left her instantly.

I have met some memorable characters in my time. Among them, Weissenstein, the world reformer, surely is not the most valuable. I look upon him as an extra, a bit player in God's great tragi-comedy. I would not have resurrected him from the realm of the dead, had not life itself given his story a twist, more capricious and outlandish than anything an author could invent. It was August 1914. The Great War had broken out. The café habitués and our own circle scattered to the winds. I spent several years at the Eastern front with the Austrian Army.

The war had meanwhile drained the reservoir of man power to the dregs. The dregs themselves were mobilized—old men, invalids,

communications with the Orient; they are the compensatory measures taken on the fats-and-oils shortage inflicted on us by the Japanese. (The international aspects of another agricultural product are clear to American farmers every time they take the car out or look at the tires on the tractor. Some farmers will spend this season growing guayule.)

The mechanism by which the relationship between production and the fight for freedom is made clear and specific is the County War Boards now set up in all agricultural counties. These Boards have nearly twenty years of background. Up through World War I, American farmers had only a very general idea of where their goods went beyond the point at which they sold them. The vague European market was one in which their competitive position was excellent; they could preoccupy themselves with the productive process of making two blades grow where one grew before. In the years after 1914, when that slogan changed to "Plow to the Fence for National Defense" and "Food will win the War," the actual focus of their interest changed very little. That was last time. Agriculture's this-time slogan, "Food will win the War and *write the Peace,*" measures the extent to which the focus has changed. After World War I, the world market became very real to American farmers—because it wasn't there any more.

The struggles of the 1920's, when the disproportion between boom in industry and bust in agriculture strained the national economy toward the 1929 break, brought out a group of farm leaders who in the 1930's set up the agricultural institutions of the New Deal, particularly the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. The practical work of this organization, to shift production away from the wheat-cotton-corn-hog output that had formerly gone to markets which no longer existed, and to develop an ever-normal granary to even out supplies and prices of feed grains, was paralleled by an educational program showing import and export charts, areas of competitive production and production costs, proportions of domestic and foreign consumption of domestic output. At the same time, county by county, farmers participating in and charged with the various programs became practiced in planning and administration. In some eighteen hundred of the agricultural counties, farm plans indicating desirable practices for the county as a whole were worked out, and individual farm plans adjusted to them. These plans have been shaped on the one hand with a view to soil conservation and on the other to production for markets that do exist, including foreign markets. The War Boards of the present are founded on that experience and that information. It is through their hands that the county-by-county breakdowns of the current national agricultural goals are worked into the soil, statistics turned into production. Because a decade of economic organization lies behind their work, the operation is on the whole going smoothly.

As an example of the best use being made of agricultural institutions in relation to the war effort, take a meeting held this spring under the auspices of the Dallas County Agricultural Forum in Iowa. The topic: "What are our Responsibilities in this War Emergency?" The people: a panel of six consisting of the discussion leader, the chairman of the County War Board, the Defense Council, the Draft Board, the Bond Sales Committee, the South Chapter of the Red Cross, plus, later on, volunteers from the audience of forty-five. The agenda: (1) To apprise people of the seriousness of our situation; (2) To pass on to the general public all information now in the hands of the governmental agency heads; (3) To clear up misunderstandings regarding policies and practices of the different agencies; (4) To afford the general public an opportunity to air their views concerning the activities of these war agencies.

Or take the organization of Morrow County, Ohio, under the slogan, "Production Now." A census of tractors, combines, and other farm machinery followed by the formation of threshing rings to insure their availabilty when needed; a census of farm labor, how much help will be needed, when and where, followed by a canvass of who can do it. One of the comments of the young newspaper man who started the idea is worth citing: "What I'm after is a kind of guerrilla production program, if you want to call it that. Something like the Chinese people's military guerrilla methods, with everyone pitching in."

The business of everyone pitching in is clarifying some further inter-relationships. In the current competition for man power, pulls are coming from three directions — the armed forces, the factories, and the farms. As a result, employment is for the first time being viewed as a national whole. Most tangible evidence is the recent arrangement whereby

the U. S. Employment Service, which hitherto has concerned itself chiefly with urban problems and urban workers, is placing a full time staff member in the major agricultural counties and arranging for representation in all such counties. In bridging the urban-rural cleavage, this is likely to have long-term results.

Another mechanism affecting rural-urban relationships which may have further usefulness in the international sphere later on is the food stamp plan instituted several years ago as a measure for supporting farm prices and at the same time relieving the paradox of poverty-in-the-midst-of-plenty presented by urban hunger in a nation where farm surpluses waited to be sold. Relief families may purchase orange food stamps with which to do their buying at their local grocery. For each one dollar of orange stamps purchased, they receive fifty cents in blue stamps, made available through funds of the Surplus Marketing Association, which are good for the purchase of whatever commodities—the list varies with the seasons—are currently declared to be in surplus by the Secretary of Agriculture. The grocer redeems the stamps through his local bank. The transactions are carried on through existing commercial channels of the wholesale and retail trades. Relief-organization overhead is limited to the record-keeping associated with the financial side of the program.

Since the same agency which has operated the Stamp Plan is currently putting the Lend-Lease Act into operation, farm endorsement of a comparable plan for international post-war relief is likely to be strong. (The farm community has had few illusions about the desirability of relieving occupied countries while they are still in Nazi hands.) Farm endorsement of an international wheat agreement along the lines of current negotiations might also be anticipated—wheat is the only major commodity for which no increase is included in current production goals.

The increase in information on world conditions in the course of the last generation does not, however, mean that where an acutely competitive international situation exists, with American farmers in a good position to handle the competition, protective mechanisms will not come into play. The history of the Hull Trade Agreements program shows that while it is easy to be internationally minded in a general way, the specific schedules of a mutual tariff reduction are apt to cause vigorous reactions in the areas where they take effect. As far as information on international agriculture is concerned, the farm community is reasonably well equipped. The availability of that information, moreover, has led to a general anticipation of a post-war world in which the United States is an important participant in policy-making.

But the information is much too static and the anticipation too vague. To be effective, the facts must be processed into policy now. The country is aware that this is a costly war; it should be similarly aware that the kind of peace it wants will be a costly peace, affecting individual lives and practices in very specific fashion. A case against agriculture could currently be compiled from moves of stuffed shirts in Congress, brass hats in administrative agencies, and vested interests in the farm organizations, all claiming to represent agriculture while acting against the national interest. In this context, the charge that complacency does exist can be made to stick. By and large, the individual citizens in the agricultural areas of the country are aware that we have tough going ahead of us. But in terms of bloc actions affecting the relationship between groups within the nation, the amount of civilian denial necessary to free materials for war uses, the use of existing stockpiles, evidence of complacency and self-seeking is not hard to find. And this is under pressure of war; peace-time pressures do not have war's immediate threat to life behind them.

That raises the question, unsolved to date in any of the Democracies yet of primary concern to the future of the United Nations, what kind of information service do we need to win the war-and-peace effort? The totalitarian states impart to their subjects the urgency of the situation without the facts. To too great an extent, the Democracies are imparting to their citizens the facts of the situation without the urgency. However much democratic decision is centralized during war, the processing of policy remains a nation-wide matter. That processing must go on, quickly, intelligently, purposefully.

American agriculture is vastly better grounded now than it was last time. Its forthcoming test will be in terms of its ability to use that ground for the erection of a definite and practical structure, for the use of the farm community within the United States and within the United Nations.

A LATIN AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

SECOND PART

Full Participation in The War

BY
H. FERNÁNDEZ ARTUCIO

LATIN America is facing today a danger which it has never before known. It may be one of the focal points of the surprise attack which the Axis is preparing in order to distract the attention of the United States and administer the *coup de grâce* to the principal source of supply for its war industries. German, Japanese, and Italian strategists know well that each shipment of bauxite from the Guianas means an increase in the already terrible power of the American aviation industry; that with each day that passes, the development of crude rubber production in the Amazon valley is progressing, and that this means increasing the possibilities of equipping the motorized columns which are to invade the European continent; that each shipment of copper, tungsten, manganese, or vanadium which leaves for this country from the far-off shores of Chile or Peru means an increase in all types of production which together contribute to the multiplication of our merchant ships and our naval units being daily launched from our yards, and which, carrying tanks, cannon, and planes, men, food, and munitions across the oceans of the world, assure the consolidation of battle fronts on which, in the end, the enemy will be defeated.

Vice-President Wallace has warned the democratic world of the reality of this danger. "We may be sure," he said at the dinner of the Free World Association, "that Hitler and Japan will co-operate to do the unexpected—perhaps an attack by Japan against Alaska and our northwest coast at a time when German transport planes will be shuttled across from Dakar to furnish leadership and stiffening to a German uprising in Latin America. In any event, the psychological and sabotage offensive in the United States and Latin America will be timed to coincide with, or anticipate by a few weeks, the height of the military offensive."

The Axis has already created the bases necessary for an offensive in the South. In addition, they have scattered hundreds of thousands of agents in strategic positions, encouraged the formation of powerful native Fifth Column movements, occupied positions of incalculable strategic value near the vital production centers and the essential harbors. But they have done more: in powerful and self-confident Argentina they have set up a political complex the direct repercussions of which are felt throughout the hemisphere; worse, doubtless, in a negative sense than the Franco regime in Spain and at least as bad as the enthronement of Laval in Vichy. In a recent statement, Doctor Nicolás Repetto, socialist leader of that nation, declared that it hurts the Argentinians to have Buenos Aires called the headquarters of nazism in South America, but that it hurts them especially because it is true. Because, moreover, the Government of Dr. Castillo, which is usurping the sovereignty of the people, is a "Nazi Government" in the technique which it employs to dominate the country, as well as in the international sympathies which it displays.

It will be said that defensive legal machinery, perfected to the last detail, was established at the Rio Conference; that it was set in motion, in principle, by appointing the Commission of Continental Political Defense at Montevideo and by holding a conference at Buenos Aires to set up a policing system to control Axis activities; and that these steps have removed the danger. With due deference for those who think thus, I am led to a contrary opinion through information proceeding from the subterranean

groups which for some time now have been waging bitter war on totalitarian activities in Latin America. This information shows an enormous increase in totalitarian activity, plus the entrance of one more factor into the situation: Japanese colonies established in zones of the highest strategic value in the State of São Paulo, in the Amazon basin in Brazil, and both on the coast and in the eastern part of Peru.

The fact is that if the Axis could put out of action a Latin America now converted into an area vital for American industry, the war would be lost.

Latin America's present attitude toward the democratic powers is one of complacent non-belligerency, an attitude, incidentally, which is historically culpable in the eyes of the Axis Powers. Latin America must pass from this attitude to a political offensive against Fifth Columnists within each national territory. It must then go further, extending the frontiers or its collective security to the very doors of the kingdom of terror which has been established by totalitarianism in the French possessions in Western Africa and in dominated Europe.

We advocate that Latin America become part of the war; and that it do so, not by declaring a "purely defensive war," but by taking the offensive, both within and outside of its territorial limits. Indeed, the frontiers of Brazil are not established on the coasts bathed by the deep waters of the Atlantic, nor in the narrow limits that classic international law recognizes for territorial waters, nor yet in the conventional demarcation of the security zone of 300 miles established by the Havana Conference. The frontiers of Brazil are French West Africa and the Cape Verde Islands from a strictly geographical point of view, and the Pyrenees from a political point of view. Dakar and the Cape Verde Islands are the spots from which a naval and air offensive can be launched against the coast of Brazil. It is from the Pyrenees, making use of the puppet regime of Francisco Franco and Serrano Suñer, and of a hybrid and neutral Portuguese Government, that Hitler long ago launched his *guerra de la hispanidad* against the concept of Pan-American unity and his offensives of conformist and pseudo-religious appeasement against democratic solidarity on this continent.

When Mexico declared war on the nations whose pirate submarines are sowing terror near its coasts and ravaging the lives of its sailors, its vigorous example set a precedent that should be followed by the rest of the Republics which have not yet abandoned their state of non-belligerency. Mexico's frontiers are not situated on the low and tropical coasts of the Gulf of Mexico, but farther off, sharing the responsibility of defending the Bahamas, of increasing the small army of Cuba with troops that are experienced and enriched by the traditions of its great revolution; of assisting Puerto Rico, whose inhabitants would salute with enthusiasm its racial equals in a common Hispanic origin; of stretching out its hand to Venezuela and Colombia, and of stationing well-equipped divisions along the stormy western coast of Central America.

The defense of Chile, Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia cannot be limited to vigilance at the Straits of Magellan or to fortifying the harbors of Valdivia, Valparaiso, Antofogasta, Mollendo, Callao, or Guayaquil. The first line of defense must be on the islands of Juan Fernández, in the archipelago of the Galapagos, on the island of Co-

cos. These are the places which can serve as secret bases from which the Japanese Navy might cut vital sea communications with the United States, and perhaps act as a springboard for airplane carriers which will provide legions of bombers to destroy the metal-bearing surface deposits of northern Chile and the unprotected lines of communications uniting Bolivia with the sea and the Peruvian Sierra with ocean harbors.

But it is also for purely political reasons that this writer advocates that offensive war be conducted by Spanish and Portuguese speaking nations of the American world. For what will be the result otherwise; that is, if they maintain either a status of complacent non-belligerency or declare a purely defensive war? Such a policy means the continuation of a colonial economy, perpetuation of "extensive" farming and cattle raising, the abandonment of all effort to achieve intensive agriculture and industrialization, the continuance of a large underprivileged population, inefficient use of resources, political feudalism.

II

THIS second World War is, in all probability, the last opportunity offered to Latin America to shake off the yoke of a historic past which until now has prevented it from raising itself to the level of an equal among the truly free nations of the world. This war offers Latin America not the mere chance—and an insignificant one, in truth—to ship its raw materials and its food products. They all have their price in the market, and the great democratic powers which acquire them will pay a generous price. But traffic in merchandise and interchange of products do not suffice to create a feeling of spiritual kinship. Spiritual solidarity among nations does not arise from transactions in the markets, nor are agents of commerce the ones who establish it, although commerce and its agents help to stimulate and consolidate it. When a drama of universal proportions is covering the face of the world with blood, when millions of men are defying death in order to save the empire of liberty in the world, only the tribute of blood, only payment in blood and more blood creates mutual obligations, mutual respect, lights the flame of a passionate solidarity, and makes people who have known how to offer themselves in the holocaust for the common cause worthy of the position of equals in the system of distributive justice which is to be established when peace comes. The men and women executed by Hitler's firing squads in Europe, the soldiers who fight courageously on the firing line—these are the ones who are going to create the new law. Until her soldiers have fallen by the thousands on the fields of battle, the voice of Latin America will not speak with the accent of those whose bitter sacrifice of their beloved has left its indelible mark and to which only those who have similarly suffered will listen with understanding.

Unless Latin America takes an active role in the war, moreover, it will have no authoritative voice in the development of its own sources of production and its industries, when they are no longer governed by the needs of war and supported by the great powers who are using them. If, however, it plays an active part beside the great democratic powers, it will be able later to insist upon their help to diversify its economy, to make it less dependent on one market or on one group of markets, to raise the standard of living of its great productive masses, to improve the cultural level of its young generations, to re-establish the right of suffrage, to give reality in its daily life to the four great freedoms proclaimed by President Roosevelt; in short, to make of the tragic accident of this war the point of departure for an era of progress the basis for which will be established either during the war, or not at all.

The political offensive which this writer advocates can have only one immediate weapon: the creation of a Latin American Expeditionary Force.

While the great problems of political strategy are being solved by the various governments, while definite plans for total mobilization of military reserves and of industrial and agricultural man power are being formulated at a General Pan-American Conference to be held immediately in Washington under the leadership of Franklin Roosevelt and with the presence of the Presidents of the Latin American Republics, plus government observers from the United Nations—while these great efforts are under way, an army of twenty-five divisions must be organized immediately, trained by technicians of the United States and other United Nations, equipped from this arsenal of democracy, and mobilized at the danger points where, in the opinion of military strategists, the need is most urgent, in this hemisphere or outside of it, on its geographical or on its political front.

This Expeditionary Force, by the very nature of its historic mission, will offer the inspiration of a real army of crusaders, capable of bringing to the democratic cause a flaming spirit of passionate devotion not found today in many of its most faithful followers. In its tents behind the lines, this Latin American Expeditionary Force, composed of men from all the Americas, including the United States of America, will forge a new concept of sovereignty, based upon the community of nations, which, after this war, will take the place of empire as the norm in relations between peoples. All nations, indeed, will have to yield part of their sovereignty after this war, in favor of collective security. But it will be very different if those concessions are offered in order to make possible the vigilant action of an international force for which the triumphant democracies alone will be responsible. For what they give up will be their quota, going to form the whole of a new notion of sovereignty, supernational and communal, applicable on those planes of thought and action where the very security of nations rest.

"No nation will have the God-given right to exploit other nations," said Henry A. Wallace in the address previously mentioned. "Older nations will have the privilege to help younger nations get started on the path to industrialization, but there must be neither military nor economic imperialism. The methods of the nineteenth century will not work in the people's century which is now about to begin." For his part, Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles stated at Arlington on Memorial Day that the age of imperialism has ended. The right of peoples to their liberty must be recognized, as the civilized world recognized long ago the right of the individual to his personal liberty. The principles of the Atlantic Charter must be guaranteed to the world as a whole.

All the nations which are now fighting against nazism have made such sacrifices that they have become worthy of these privileges. Let Latin America hurry to her rendezvous with destiny before it is too late. And let the Expeditionary Force be the first expression of her will to sacrifice.

—Translated by Richard Holder

TOWARD A REAL INTER-AMERICANISM

by

Victor Raul Haya de la Torre

ABOUT 1930, when the dictatorship of Augusto B. Leguía was at its height, a group of young men, mostly college students, although there were a number of manual workers among them, founded the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria (People's Revolutionary Alliance). This was soon known as APRA, formed from its initials. Later it was registered as a political entity, under the name of Patrido Aprista Peruano (Peruvian Aprista Party) and referred to as P.A.P. When World War II broke out, the leadership of P.A.P. was in the hands of Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, who was not only outstanding in South America, but had achieved international renown. He approached the Government of Manuel Prado Ugarteche (who recently visited this country at the invitation of the United States Government) proposing a program of national unity based on complete re-establishment of democracy and an effective defense of continental interests. For two years he has been defending with sound and constructive arguments a thesis which, had it been adopted, would have brought Peru civil peace and the strength to face the grave dangers which beset it in this struggle, so fraught with danger to all American nations. After having appealed in vain to the constituted authorities of his own country, he now writes a calm and thoughtful appeal to continental opinion, and especially to that of the United States.

MANY people in Latin America feared that the Rio Conference would be a diplomatic Pearl Harbor because of the attitude of Chile and Argentina. Four months after that conference it may be affirmed that it was an appreciable step toward American solidarity. But like all other Pan-American conferences, it gave undue weight to the voices of Latin American governments and forgot that on this continent what a government says is not always in accord with what its people think.

The present direction of inter-American policy in Washington indicates some understanding of the necessity of gaining the sympathy of Latin American peoples as well as governments. I am inclined to believe, however, that much still remains to be done in order to carry out this second step in achieving American solidarity.

What is lacking for the formation of a stable inter-Americanism? I should say briefly that in order to achieve the fullest expression of inter-Americanism the Latin American peoples must feel a profound enthusiasm for the cause of democracy.

And how accomplish this?

In my opinion, very simply: Let the Latin

American peoples feel the benefits of democracy.

All of us, from Mexico to Argentina, know that the cause of democracy is the cause of liberty. But not all of us who inhabit these twenty countries have a right to enjoy that liberty. All of us in Latin America understand that our countries are opposing the Axis Powers because they have suppressed liberty. But many of us know that a good number of Latin American countries have also suppressed liberty.

When I speak of liberty, I refer to its practical expression in the application of the principles of constitutional law, to what President Roosevelt calls the four fundamental freedoms of democracy: freedom of speech, freedom of religion, economic freedom, and freedom from fear. If we are fighting the Axis in order to assure these freedoms for the world, a goodly number of Latin American countries are also struggling for these freedoms against their own governments. If the World War has as its aim the victory of democracy against dictatorship, here in Latin America dictatorships exist which must be conquered that democracy may triumph.

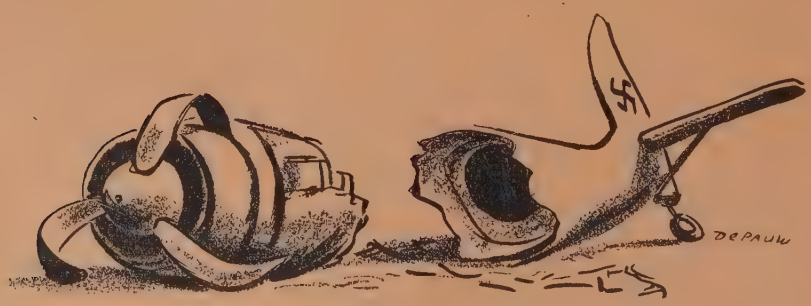
The people — the man in the street — in those Latin American countries where democracy does not exist, do *not* feel any enthusiasm for a cause which, in the face of their own reality, seems contradictory and confused. Let me give a few examples: In Colombia, in Chile, in Mexico, in Uruguay, perhaps in Cuba, the people are united to their governments in a struggle for democracy the benefits of which they are receiving, and the existence of which they are eager to maintain. But in Guatemala, in Peru, in Paraguay, and even in Brazil the people know that it is very difficult to struggle alongside their governments for liberty and democracy when in their own regimes these governments recognize neither liberty nor democracy.

I should think that since all the governments of all the countries of both Americas are united in their struggle against the anti-democratic powers, the immediate and most important task of inter-Americanism would be to unite the peoples of these countries in the bonds of an effective democratic existence. And I believe this is necessary because American solidarity in the face of the problems which war creates cannot be a mere *diplomatic solidarity*. War requires of people their will power, their enthusiasm, their faith. And in Latin America the sympathy of the people may sometimes be more helpful than the self-interested help of the government. At least it is equally important.

Now that in Rio de Janeiro the solidarity of the governments resulted in their enrolling in the ranks of democracy, we must seek the unanimous sympathy and moral co-operation of the peoples of Latin America in favor of that cause. Then the work of the Fifth Columnists will be impossible; then there will be no governments on this continent playing the secret role of guide and mentor to Fifth Columns.

Let liberty and democracy not be a myth for the peoples of Latin America, not merely a beautiful word in the oratory which a Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs inspires. War, victory, defense of the Americas require that liberty and democracy should be the reward of struggle for every man and woman in Latin America. And in order that this may be possible, public opinion in the United States must direct its thought and its action against the dictatorships which still exist in Latin America, in order "that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish" from this continent.

—Translated by Richard Holder



Planning of the Future—
A Weapon for the Present

By LOUIS DOLIVET

SLOWLY but firmly, a decisive change is taking place in the attitude of the United Nations toward planning for the future. From indifference and lack of interest or belief that planning is untimely they are shifting toward a more and more serious consideration of the fundamental principles of the democratic war and peace policy. This new attention to one of the decisive problems of this war is due to a better analysis of public opinion in the fighting countries as well as in the subjugated countries.

Naturally, the secret manner with which the United Nations are mobilizing the underground forces in the subjugated countries cannot be revealed. There is so much danger involved—from the first step of planning help for the underground up to the consummation in concrete activities against the enemy—that many important facts relating to this war will have to be withheld until after the victory. But those who are in contact with the underground movements on behalf of the United Nations are beginning to understand the immense importance of the ideological argument in increasing resistance. A certain time was necessary for the intelligence and propaganda services of the United Nations to learn more about the nature of this war and about the nature of the popular resistance to the Axis. They saw, sometimes with surprise, acts of unsurpassable courage without being able to understand the motives of those who performed these acts. But later, they learned to understand this much: The underground is not a movement which the United Nations can buy with money.

The nucleus of this movement was formed by the great popular organizations, trade unions, co-operatives, people's front groups, and committees interested in international affairs, like the International Peace Campaign or the League of Nations Association. The

II
POTENTIAL FORCES IN ASIA

best European brains were and are connected with these activities. From the beginning they have influenced the ideological basis of the resistance. These groups were joined in the course of fascist oppression and of battle by men and women who were never in politics. They are risking their lives in order to destroy the hated occupation and to re-establish the freedom of their country. But when they risk their lives, they think. They are thinking that all the promises which were made to them have broken down; that governments and generals have abandoned them; that all the taxes they have paid and all the military service they have rendered were insufficient to save them from slavery. They are thinking about the lessons of the past, about the first aggression against China, back in 1931, about the aggression against Ethiopia and Spain, about Munich and appeasement. And from that thinking come questions. They are asking themselves the logical question: "Is it worth while to risk our lives in order to have, a few years later, another war? Will we finally succeed in getting a society in which war and aggression, in which fascism and misery will be impossible?"

These two questions are today decisive in Europe as well as in subjugated countries everywhere. The answers may determine to a

great extent the intensity of the anti-Axis revolt all over the world. Those who see in the movement of resistance an expression of nationalism in the old sense of that word, a nationalism opposed to international co-operation and to a democratic world order, are entirely mistaken and are lacking in the fundamental knowledge of the underground.

There is no such thing as nationalism—isolationism—in the French, Belgian, Norwegian, Polish, Czech, or other movements of resistance. Over there, they all know that they can be freed from the Axis yoke only with the help of the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and the other United Nations. They know also that their only guarantee against future aggression lies in collaboration within a United Nations machinery.

There are still many factors which can influence decisively the European elements of resistance and which are not wholly brought into play. The organized labor and trade union movement had more than ten million supporters before the war in Europe and its existing international machinery, if utilized, would be extremely helpful. The co-operative movement which had organized over five million families in Europe in what is now occupied territory, the international women's organizations, and many others, with their numerous points of contact in Europe, could play a decisive part if the United Nations would call on them and integrate them into the general political war effort of the Democracies. All these organizations are vitally interested in the planning of the future. The interest of the United States and Great Britain in the ideological phase of organizing the anti-Axis revolt is full of promise for the future.

In the Axis countries there are many institutions which are planning for the future. They are planning with a view to an Axis victory; they are planning the exploitation of Europe and the world in favor of the Axis powers and their satellites; they are planning the use of terrorism as one of the prime means of controlling subjugated countries as well as their own populations. But they are making plans. After the attack on Russia, when Germany expected a quick victory, plans were laid for a European conference to be held in Vienna in the fall of 1941. The opening day of that conference was planned to coincide with the occupation of Moscow, and experts from the Axis and subjugated countries worked night and day in preparing the agenda. Naturally, the conference has never been held. Despite this postponement, the planning goes on and the propaganda about it serves to create a sense of order and direction for the nazi future and sympathy for the nazi cause. So-called scientific institutes in Germany and Italy are making plans both for the expected victory and the possible defeat. These institutions are studying the problems of economic reconstruction in Europe, the future of autarchy and the possibilities for cultural and commercial expansion. They are preparing plans and proposals to save for their countries all the rights and privileges they can get in case of eventual defeat. At the same time, the nazi masters are flattering their satellites by allowing the experts in Hungary, Rumania, Italy, and Spain to offer plans and recommendations for the future world order. Thus, for example, there are in Hungary the Institute of Political Science of the Hungarian Society of Statistics and the Hungarian Society of Foreign Affairs; in Rumania, the Centre de Hautes Etudes Internationales; in Italy, the Instituto di Scienze Economiche attached to the Catholic University at Milan; and in Spain, the Instituto Francisco de Vitoria and the notorious Consejo de Hispanidad—all studying the problems of world reorganization.

II

In view of these facts, it becomes obvious that the United Nations need to mobilize the intellectual and scientific forces they have at their disposal. Yet many who reproached Great Britain last year for not formulating her peace aims are refusing to discuss these aims now that America is at war. In response to our first article in this series, we have been offered the argument that the United Nations will win automatically, if they only do what the Axis Powers are doing, by virtue of their superior resources. All this talk about a future world order is only propaganda, runs the argument; actually, what we have to do is to have twice the number of radio stations and twice the number of employees in Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry, and we shall silence them as we shall silence their batteries by using twice the number of guns. This naïve thinking about mechanical superiority cannot be applied to any theater of war. It certainly cannot be applied to political war. In the field of political war—which interests us particularly—such thinking is disastrous.

The political motives which are guiding the Axis Powers are entirely opposed to the motives which guide the democratic nations, as this simple comparison shows.

Axis Motives	*Democratic Motives*
Domination	Collaboration
Lust for power	Moral revolt against force and cruelty
Destruction of religion	Restoration of religious freedom
Racial superiority	Racial equality
National expansion and suppression of individual nations	Freedom of occupied nations and emancipation of colonial peoples
War, the essential method of Axis nations	War, a necessary evil; establishment of permanent peace, primary aim
Concentration of economic power in the Axis countries	Equitable distribution of raw materials and establishment of a democratic world economic system
Violation of international law	Maintenance of international law
Contempt for the human being as such	Deep belief in the inviolable rights of every human being
Organization of war efforts by destroying whatever freedom exists	Greatest war efforts within the democratic system
Future slavery for all but Axis nations	Promise of a democratic world order

Looking at this scheme of essential differences it is quite evident that the political warfare of the United Nations, if it is to be successful, cannot be based on anything other than the persuasion and education of ever increasing numbers of citizens as to the necessity of the destruction of the Axis, backed by the conviction that the Democracies are capable of preparing and realizing a democratic world order. In a fascist country the state counts on gaining public support for its plans through the terrorism of its police methods, through mass spying by members of the party, through the youth which have been brought up as fanatics by many years of propaganda. In a democratic country it is the deep conviction of the citizen that he is helping his country, that he is helping justice and freedom by destroying the Axis agents which is the primary motive of action. In Germany there are many nazi spies in each building. Superintendents, elevator boys, janitors, air-raid wardens, chambermaids, streetcleaners are in most cases nazi agents. Almost each family has its nazi spy. In America or Britain there is no such situation. The only guarantee of fullest participation in the war effort and of controlling dangerous elements lies in the loyalty and the sense of responsibility of the democratic citizen.

It is fortunate that the last months have seen decisive progress toward thinking about the future. This new chapter of democratic thinking was begun by the famous speech delivered by Vice-President Wallace at the dinner of the Free World Association. Mr. Wallace's speech was followed by an address of historic importance by Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles. This speech is of great significance because many reactionary elements were sure that a responsible representative of the State Department would not go so far as to speak of a people's war, or to speak of the end of imperialism, or to underline the importance of a world society after the war. Mr. Welles did all these things, and he did even more by emphasizing the economic factors necessary to establish a just world order. In London the Labor party has held a national conference in which the climax of the discussion was centered around the problems of the world to come. And in England, too, the Ambassador of the United States, John G. Winant, has declared that the United Nations will have to make the same effort that they are making now to win the war, to "wipe out the social evils of poverty, sickness, and unemployment." He added, "We must move on to a great social offensive if we are to win the war completely."

These are exactly the points which FREE WORLD has stressed from the beginning of its existence. Others, too, have voiced them. Some time ago Governor Harold E. Stasson of Minnesota outlined a program for future world organization which contains the essential ideas of international co-operation. T. V. Soong, Chi-

nese Minister of Foreign Affairs, based his first speech on Chinese war aims on the same idea. However eloquent and important, these views have not yet silenced those whose slogan today is, "Let us first win the war," and will be tomorrow, "Let us keep out of international entanglements."

Fortunately, a new weapon has been given to all who favor immediate planning for the future by one of the most courageous and most admired women in the world. In a speech broadcast from Chungking, Mme. Chiang Kai-shek informed us that if the Chinese people and the Chinese Army had not been induced "to believe that after victory the world system would be entirely altered; that we would be all free peoples; and that nations, strong or weak, would deal fairly and squarely with each other; . . . the war, as far as China is concerned, would have been over a long year ago." What Mme. Chiang said means simply that if her Government had failed to make planning for the future an important part of its whole conception of war morale, Chinese resistance might have collapsed and Japan, with China defeated or supporting Japanese aggression, would be ten times stronger today.

We must bear in mind that this is not an editorial written in the security of a New York newspaper office but the expression of one who has participated actively in the most extraordinary battles of this war, and who has seen bombs falling hundreds of times on undefended cities. In the consciousness of her leadership as well as her intimate participation in the struggle Mme. Chiang declared that if, after this war there was to be no more freedom and happiness for human beings, she would be ashamed to face the soldiers and workers of China to whom during these four years of suffering and sacrifice she had promised a better world. "They would never believe me any more if this better world did not come." No more would the other peoples ever again believe the President of the United States or the Prime Minister of Great Britain or the President of the Council of Soviet Commissars. The promises made by the governments of the United Nations are signed checks which will have to be honored in the future. The claimants will be the peoples of the world. And those who consider such promises merely as propaganda to be ignored immediately after the war are terribly mistaken both as to the character of this propaganda and its political effects now and in the future.

We shall therefore examine with the utmost care the different plans of the future. We consider that every effort in this direction is in itself a symptom of progress, but we do not regard every plan for the future as a mark of that progress. Frequently, lack of vision, lack of courage, lack of knowledge of the immense changes which have taken place in the last twenty years are responsible for a conservatism which defeats all progress. The conception of the Free World movement regarding the future is opposed to this conservative plan, as it is opposed to all unrealistic solutions. We base our plans on the aspirations of humanity implemented by a workable system of principles and international machinery that is able to secure the welfare and freedom of all peoples.

The Potential Forces of Asia

THERE is a danger that in considering the past and the future of Europe, as we did in our previous article, an impression may be created that it is there that the greatest changes have occurred and will again take place. It is only in a close examination of Asia that one realizes the historic importance of the developments on that continent. Two great tendencies dominate Asia at present: (1) the will to national independence, and (2) revolutionary and socialist idealism.

Asiatic nationalism can be explained as a reaction against oppression by the white man. With the disappearance of that oppression most of the emotional elements of Asiatic nationalism will disappear. Until the beginning of this century, for example, China simply did not experience the phenomenon of modern nationalism. It is such an immense country with such an ancient culture that the process of nationalism is incompatible with its development. Sun Yat-sen, who introduced modern nationalism in China, taught only the most progressive conception of nationalism, the nationalism that is ready to cooperate with other nations for the good of humanity. He refused to teach them the stupid and dangerous nationalism of the aggressive chauvinists of other countries. And therefore the term, as we generally interpret it, cannot be applied to Asiatic nationalism, and particularly to Chinese nationalism. The latter is free from any aggressive imperialistic tendencies and is also free from the chauvinistic belief in na-

tional superiority. Its essential characteristic is the desire for equality with other nations and for improvement of international conditions by means of complete international co-operation. Sun Yat-sen and the nationalist movement he founded are really the first expression of the type of national consciousness which may be the basis for future international co-operation. While nationalism in other countries, especially at its outset, was characterized by xenophobia, by outbursts of violence against other nations, the doctrine and program of Sun Yat-sen divert national feeling into a desire for industrial, economic, and political co-operation with the Western Powers. The consummation of Sun Yat-sen's theories has found expression in the establishment by many famous Chinese scholars, headed by Wou Chi Hui, C. K. Chang, and Li Yu Ying, of an international organization called World Co-operation, in which many of the federalist principles which we are discussing today were seriously studied.

The Chinese will to independence is also of a special nature. It does not express itself in hatred against foreigners but merely in a desire to put an end to a situation which is no better for the dominating nations than for the dominated.

As for the revolutionary tendencies, these range from Confucian moralism through modern liberalism and socialism to certain aspects of the communist doctrine. They are directed primarily toward the creation of better economic and social conditions of the large masses of people. They are lacking that fanaticism or exclusivism which characterizes many Western revolutionary movements, and they aspire to the reconciliation of different social doctrines. Every new social and philosophical concept finds its way into Asia due to the receptivity of the Chinese people. Hence, these tendencies can play a constructive role in any concrete program of co-operation between the Orient and the Occident.

III

As for India, there is no doubt that the example of China is slowly making its impression on the Indian way of life and that the Chinese philosophy of internal and international relations is becoming more and more the determining factor in the political evolution of many Indian movements. The situation is naturally more complex there because the Indian people, if they act wisely, will be obliged to by-pass two periods in political evolution. During this war they will be obliged to accept the concept of world co-operation without passing through a phase of national independence. The mystical Gandhi and many of the reactionary leaders of the All-India Congress will never understand this historic necessity for the Indian nation to skip over an entire period in history, but certainly Nehru and his young followers, who have absorbed the many doctrines of social progress and world democracy, are capable of taking this step. The Chinese are now performing an immensely useful task in impressing on the Indian mind the fact that the victory of the United Nations is the sole key to Indian freedom and independence. It is the duty of the United Nations to aid the Chinese in this task and to help the young and democratic forces in India in their struggle against the old and static conceptions of Indian nationalism.

When Nehru came to Europe in 1928, the writer had occasion to discuss with him at great length the problems confronting India. Even at that time, while France and England were still at peace with Germany, the Indian leader foresaw that the solution of his country's problem would be an integral part of the world-wide struggle against fascism, the struggle which will be completed by a democratic victory that will spell the end of all imperialism.

Yet now, when the Chinese are valiantly battling the Japanese, there are many who are already beginning to speak about the danger of Asiatic nationalism. They are already afraid that China and India, once united, may become a danger to the white man. They do not understand that China and India can become immense factors in the winning of the war and in the building of a democratic world which will be able to raise the standard of living of all peoples. Of course, if the United Nations are incapable of creating a free world, then extreme nationalists in China and India will incite their people against the white man, and we may have a continental war. But there is no more danger of having a war with the people of Asia than there is danger of a war between the Americas or between America and Europe. The situations and the dangers are the same all over the world. The Asiatic problem is an integral part of the world problem. Its solution depends not only on the attitude of the peoples of Asia, but it depends equally on the ideals and actions of all the other peoples of the world.

The Struggle of Free France

BY HENRI LAUGIER

THE difficulties that the Free French movement encountered at its painful birth and which beset it in its struggle and growth have been immense; moreover, they were inevitable. Those who so severely criticize its weaknesses should always bear these difficulties in mind. If they do so, they will be inclined, as men of intellectual probity, to judge with more understanding and sympathy.

The first difficulty, and it is a grave one, is that the French émigrés were very few in number. And this for many reasons, both physical and psychological. Physical: the means of emigration were difficult since a hostile Spain had limited the possibilities of escape via a land frontier. Psychological: After an unprecedented military catastrophe and a *coup d'état* based on treason and foreshadowing a dictatorship incompatible with all French life, one might have expected that numerous representatives of the thought and people of France would have left the country in a great wave of emigration. Nothing of the sort took place. The explanation for this failure is given in the striking words of a French soldier, hospitalized in England after Dunkirk. He recognized the necessity of continuing the struggle, but with tears in his eyes he announced his determination to go back to France, and he cried out in despair, *"I want to be sure of dying near my home."*

Certainly, if it were possible today, a great number of our unfortunate compatriots would be happy to emigrate to the free soil of the United States or England; but when the catastrophe came, it burst over them so suddenly, the decisions that had to be made were so terrifying and minds so unprepared, that the heart of many a man failed him at the moment of leaving French soil. The attachment to the soil is sometimes the strength of France; in those bitter decisive days it prevented French emigration and permanently weakened the émigré movement abroad.

The Free French movement faced a second difficulty the gravity of which has not been adequately recognized. When General de Gaulle snatched from the men of Bordeaux, Vichy, and Compiègne the unstained banner of defeated France, and proclaimed the will of the people to resist, to struggle, to free the *patrie,* he found himself without resources in the face of a crushing task. He had absolutely no organization, no qualified representatives to deal with the intellectual and material questions posed by the revolt of the French conscience every minute of the day all over the world. There were problems of military enrollment, training, organization, armament; problems of finance; problems of information and of propaganda to reach Frenchmen scattered over the face of the globe; problems of liaison with the Allied governments. One must bear in mind that at every moment in every country, questions of all kinds presented themselves that no administrative machinery was competent or qualified to resolve. There was no ambassador, no consul, no financial attaché, no naval attaché, no commercial attaché, no foreign service. It was necessary to act, to build up all this organization bit by bit, with the aid of a personnel that was enthusiastic, but heterogeneous and inexperienced. Let the critics reflect upon the immensity of this task and surely they will be less severe and more understanding. And let them also bear this in mind: that the other governments-in-exile did not have all these difficulties because most of them had at their immediate disposal all the

resources of the administrative services of their countries.

Not only did the Free French movement lack the machinery, in itself a formidable handicap, but in almost all countries, it found opposing it the whole machinery of Vichy, which set in motion against Free Frenchmen all the powerful means it had gained by its treason. This machinery, sometimes vacillating but often militant and efficient, continued to enjoy its diplomatic privileges, retained permanent connections with other governments and thereby maintained its contacts with French groups and retained all its means of pressure upon them—funds, subsidies, passports. Do people know that even today, in certain of the United Nations, it is easier to travel with a Vichy passport than with a Free French passport or a British Certificate of Identity? One cannot exaggerate the importance of the consideration shown to Vichy by the governments of Canada, of the United States, and even of Great Britain, or of the instructions given to the press and to the radio not to attack that "great man," the arch-culpable, Marshal Pétain.

And so there arose throughout the world a sense of confusion, occasioned in part by the action of the governments of the United Nations, which has disconcerted French groups long established abroad and rendered more difficult and tentative the work of the Free French movement. The French groups in America and England are animated by a profound and vibrant patriotism, and if they had been able to see clearly into the course of events, they would have rallied as one man to the cause of French resistance. But they have long been cut off from the battle of ideologies in France, and they frequently as a matter of principle refuse to take sides in French political conflicts. Then, too, after the armistice France was governed by a man whom the last war and the Republic itself had glorified with a halo which seemed genuine and pure; the embassies and consulates remained open, dealing out favors and threats; and the governments of the United Nations were obviously cultivating the good will of Vichy and its head. Could one have expected that the Frenchmen abroad would not have been deeply disturbed, that their patriotic impulses would not have been paralyzed by hesitation? Their information was often inadequate and biased, and they rejected with all the force of their being the idea that a Marshal of France could have betrayed the country and sacrificed it to an old man's delight in strangling the Republic and seizing power. Thus among Frenchmen throughout the world there spread a wave of uncertainty and confusion, troubling the conscience of many a patriot.

II

IN spite of so many and such serious difficulties the movement of French resistance lives, and it is a power. It lives, and it brings ever-increasing life and hope to others. The free tricolor, waving above the seas and over the territories of the Empire, expresses the will of France to be free. The sympathy of the whole world, so deeply heartening to us, the exiled and the proscribed, goes out to beaten France and its people who resist, and to its thought, which has so greatly contributed to the ideals for which the Allies are fighting. The Free French who are fighting with England, the United States, Canada, China, Russia, and the governments-in-exile, are the standard-bearers of the France whose spirit has remained free despite the bloody chains that confine her. For the voice of Free France is the voice of the France that has been gagged.

There was a document in which France and England bound themselves not to make a separate peace. And what was there at the bottom of this document? Only the signature of France! When we, the Free French, say that we remain faithful to this signature, and to the struggle and sacrifice it implies, we know that we express the will of all that noble nation, the peasants and workers of France who reject treason, surrender, collaboration, totalitarianism and fascism with all their being—the French people who pray for the victory of the United Nations.

And so the powerful movement of Free France lives and fights. It fights wherever its forces can serve in the struggle side by side with the soldiers, the sailors, and the aviators of the United Nations; in the technical services of the Allies; and in the war of ideas. It fights. It battles, above all and as one man, to free the territory of France and of the Empire. Free France! Free from the Germanic savagery which dishonors all it touches, even war; which aims to destroy France, which wishes to impose on the world a vile racist theory that will reduce to slavery peoples which were the light of humanity. And this for a nation of

Gauleiters whose only achievement has been to mobilize the forces of science and technology against the benefits of science and technology.

Not only does the movement of French resistance offer in Europe and throughout the world material aid toward victory, but it also contributes fully to the ideological struggle of the French thought that has been devoted to freedom and human dignity. How could France, after having disseminated for centuries the principles of humanity which today inspire the Allies by whom she expects to be saved, how could France betray these principles that constitute her special grandeur? Free France, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the United Nations, is in full agreement with their democratic ideas; remains faithful to the ideals of popular sovereignity, of respect for spiritual and moral values, and for the eminent dignity of human personality.

III

WHEN in a public meeting, I speak in behalf of a democracy laid low by nazism and proclaim the fidelity of our movement to the principles of the French Revolution, to the Declaration of the Rights of Man, to the ideals that have made France great in the eyes of the world, and when I add that we still propose to make a living reality of our immortal *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité,* someone generally rises in the assembly to cry out: "Have you, then, learned nothing from the defeat?"

Alas, defeat is always more instructive than victory. What we have learned is that the heads of democracies have the obligation not only so to conduct affairs that all may benefit by democracy, but also to defend that democracy with all their energy against its enemies at home and abroad, in time of peace as in time of war. As Peguy said, nothing is so destructive as weakness; nothing so humane as firmness. A policy of rigor and firmness toward the enemy within alone is humanitarian; it costs least and spares most. Too many democratic politicians in France—and doubtless elsewhere as well—failed to measure up to the duty of militant defense.

We have learned, too, that it is disastrous to allow the great services of national defense, the army, navy, aviation, and diplomacy to develop uncontrolled along their own bureaucratic lines. Young and enthusiastic representatives of the people must exercise over these departments a permanent control which calls into play all their powers of criticism and imagination. We have learned that the heads of the departments of national defense must have unlimited devotion to the *ideology* of the regime they serve; that we face catastrophe if we retain military leaders some of whom have an understanding with Mussolini, others with Hitler; and a large proportion of whom aim to overthrow the democratic regime and to replace it by fascist totalitarianism. We have learned that the sense of national interest is not enough to prevent certain eminent military men, haloed by glory, from sacrificing the moral position of France in the world, and her future as well, to their deep-rooted desire to strangle the Republic and lay democracy low.

What some of us knew and what we have all learned from the war and the defeat is that there is no Asiatic war or peace, nor European, nor American, but that with the present development of science and technology the nations of the world are indeed answerable for one another; in peace as in war they are bound together in a planetary unity. We have learned that the frontiers of liberty have been, successively, in Manchukuo and Ethiopia, on the Sierra de Guadarrama and the Rhineland, then in Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland; and that those who were not willing to fight for Danzig were also not willing to continue the struggle for France. And we recognize the insensate folly of the Democracies in destroying with their own hands that instrument for the restraint of aggression which was the League of Nations, the incipient coalition to check the war-makers, the permanent mobilization against violence of the peoples of the world, great and small, the only efficacious instrument of organized collective security. And if all the world is now in flames and threatens to become the tragic funeral pyre in which a civilization may be consumed, it is because the peace-loving democracies, to whom victory had in the last war given the power, lacked the courage to fight for peace when the risks were negligible.

We have learned that the spirit of appeasement and isolationism is a most deadly poison with which the enemies of democracy inoculate free peoples in order to destroy them from within before attacking them from without. We have learned that democracy is not a possession to be passively enjoyed, but a realm which must be conquered and ardently de-

fended every day and in every sphere. We know that if the existence of free countries is today threatened, it is because the Democracies *failed* democracy. They were not *sufficiently* democratic. The Republic was not *sufficiently* republican.

These are the things that we have learned and they *dictate to us the plan of our struggle.*

IV

THE generations that will have undergone the most atrocious sufferings known to history —tempered by this test—will also have the heaviest responsibility known to history, the *responsibility for the victory.* This victory will be more important than any other and richer in the furtherance of human happiness, if the peace is an act of intellectual courage. But if it is a peace of lassitude, of indolence, of individual and national selfishness, never will human happiness have been so imperilled.

What must emerge from the struggle of Free France and the victory of the United Nations is a *leadership of democracy,* of democracy that is earnest, dynamic, conquering, and ever progressing. This can not be the work of a day or of a treaty, but must be brought about by the constant activity of a free citizenry which knows the worth of labor and is devoted to the idea of government of the people by the people and for the people.

That is our fight!

We remain committed passionately, and to our last breath, to the principles inscribed in the *sacred texts of liberty:* Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen. But we are fighting for a liberty that is really liberty. Political liberty is no longer enough; in the future we must go beyond it. We are fighting for an equality that is a real equality.

Are we living under a regime of liberty when overshadowing the merely periodical right to vote, there arise economic powers, lords of all material goods, that dominate the press and impose on intellectual and manual labor—the only real wealth of the world—a constant and ubiquitous servitude? Are we living under a regime of liberty when the right to work and to the enjoyment of the benefits of science and culture is not universally assured, when misery and insecurity permanently depress a whole section of the population and put it in a position of dependence and want in which most of the joys of life are beyond reach? Why should the laborer be obliged to seek work as a *favor,* instead of finding his natural *place* in a co-operative and fraternal society?

How insufficient political liberties are is shown by French political life of the last twenty years. The people consistently sent to Parliament majorities that were truly progressive and prepared for bold experiment. They were invariably overthrown after a few months of power, first by financial threat, by economic pressure, and by the workings of a bought press; then by the internal conspiracy and revolt which preceded the final strangulation through military defeat and the treason of a social class.

Are we living under a regime of liberty, equality, and human dignity if, as in democratic France, the economic and social structure is so ordered that the leaders of the nation are drawn almost entirely from social groups that represent less than a tenth of the population; if the professions remain practically hereditary; if careers of leadership are practically closed to the sons of those whom the Socialists call proletarians? Are we living under a regime of liberty when all the means of disseminating thought, the press, publishing, and radio, are concentrated in the hands of a small group which represents the material interests of a social class and which furnishes the people such information and culture as its interests dictate?

Are we living under a regime of human dignity when the industrial system welcomes so meagerly the benefits bestowed by science; when a marvelous discovery made by a disinterested scholar enables a machine to replace human hands, and brings about nothing but the enrichment of a few and the enforced idleness of many? Why should men hunger and die in one land while in another sacks of grain and coffee are burned? Why should economic competition create disorder everywhere? The Golden Age is within the grasp of man if he is wise, courageous, and imaginative. Science places at man's disposal through steam, combustion engine, and electricity—and tomorrow through atomic disintegration—so many billions of horse-power that *one may, one must boldly proclaim the right of every man on the globe to enjoy the inexhaustible riches which have been placed in the hands of civilized so-*

ciety by our recent mastery of natural forces.

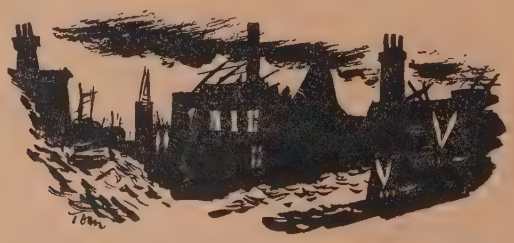
I should not think much of democratic ideology, if after the dearly bought victory of the Democracies, it were content to defend the political liberties inscribed in the eternal texts of the past; if it were to take refuge in an attitude of *defense* against opposing ideologies without *passionately* fighting for its principles, without assuming the attitude of a *conqueror,* and without rallying to its banner the peoples of the earth. Otherwise it will soon lose the intellectual struggle for peace.—But to the general political liberties we must add these rights of man in the economic democracy of the future: the right to *work,* to *health,* to *security,* and to the *worldly goods that science creates and generously dispenses to humanity.* Such projects must not be called *materialistic.* Liberty of thought and free aspiration to culture can exist among men only when their physical wants are satisfied. To free man from material cares is to liberate his mind, to liberate all his capacities of thought, of creation, of culture; and this is the mission of the democratic societies of tomorrow.

Let us affirm, then, that when we proclaim our fidelity to the Rights of Man and to democracy, we remain faithful to eternal principles; but we do not struggle simply to preserve or restore the achievements of the past. We affirm our devotion to the hopes of tomorrow, to the creations of the future; we are guided by a star leading to a new world that science and wisdom will make radiant. The Allies remain faithful to the principles of political democracy laid down in the past, but they fight also to construct a *new democracy,* based on a *new Declaration of Rights,* which will oblige the powerful economic forces of modern civilization to *respect spiritual and moral values and the rights of labor,* compelling the machine to serve man instead of enslaving him.

It is a struggle which will not end with the peace! The terms of the treaties will, if we insist, sketch the outline of tomorrow's world. But it would be childish to believe that texts can fix the shape that the future will take, that they can impose a structure upon the life of humanity.—Even the best of treaties are fragile and have their day. Let us not be deceived by the hope that we, on the day of victory shall make a just peace. At best, our peace will be an honorable human approximation to prevailing ideas of justice.—And all the difficulties and injustices that the treaties cannot redress will appear in the aftermath as pressing problems and grounds of conflict which must be resolved. Therefore, the treaties should provide for continuous revision and permanent negotiation, in order that the peace should not be crystallized and fixed in the hieratic immobility of an idol, but be a living thing, one lending itself to rapid transformation. Certainly the peace treaties must embody a desire for justice; but they must also provide the means for realizing aspirations toward a justice ever greater and ever more human. The peace will not be lasting because it has once and for all been established on the basis of justice, but because it will permit continual discussion of problems, a permanent constructive criticism of principles and facts, and an ardent effort toward more justice, more liberty and more international collaboration. This implies a revolutionary change in men's thoughts and actions.

Thus for the representatives of the exiled and proscribed, free men though their countries are enslaved by the enemy, the first objective of the struggle is the liberation of their country—and for me this means Free France. But in the face of the revolutionary situation created by the war, the problem of world reconstruction will not be settled merely by military victory. If we wish to give an ideological meaning to the gigantic struggle, we must remember that our task will not be ended when nazism is destroyed. For many years we shall have the duty of building a free world and of constructing a true political and economic democracy, dynamic, inspiring, and conquering—World Democracy.

—Translated by Albert Lippman



I was a german hostage

BY
W. B. STARSKI

THE authenticity of the facts presented in this article is vouched for by the Polish Minister Plenipotentiary, M. Kwapiszewski, in the following statement: "W. B. Starski's account of his harrowing experience as one of 600 hostages seized in Wawer, a suburb of Warsaw, is accurate to the last detail. The writer himself is well known to me. He recently managed to escape from Poland, was helped by his brother to reach this country and now, on a hospitable farm, is recuperating from his ordeal which left him badly shaken."

I WAS a German hostage—one of six hundred Poles in Wawer who were arrested last Christmas Day for the murder of two German soldiers in a tavern. They shot 117 of us.

I had heard two shots about seven in the morning as I was going to Christmas Mass. The sounds came from the direction of Anin, Wawer's rival as one of the most beautiful suburbs of Warsaw. But I thought nothing of it. The sound of gunfire means nothing to a people who have lived under the Nazis for two years.

I left the church about nine and took the path through the pine forest to the railway station. My mother had been suffering from the cold and the station-master had promised me a basketful of coal as part payment for my doctoring his family. It was a sunny day and the air had a clear crisp tang to it that made life seem almost worth living. I found myself whistling as I walked briskly over the snow. Before I reached the station I caught sight of a German patrol. I shortened my strides and I tried to seem nonchalant. I had no idea of what they wanted, but I knew that the Germans considered nervousness with suspicion.

There were four of them—two more than usual. Three were in uniform and one was in civilan clothes, a Gestapo man. When I saw the plain-clothes man, I knew that something was up. They stopped me. I said nothing while they went through my pockets.

We Poles learned very quickly that Nazis don't like to be asked questions. They answer you with a rifle butt. They let me go after a search without any explanation for their actions. But this explanation was given to me in great detail by the station master as soon as we were alone. It concerned the events of the preceding night.

"About eight in the evening," he said, "two German non-coms in the military police walked into Josef Bartoszek's tavern and kicked all the Poles out. They kept Josef running back and forth from the cellar to their table until two in the morning. By that time, they were in a drunken stupor. The swine." He spat on the ground.

"A little before seven," the station-master continued, "they woke up and ordered Josef's two children to sing Christmas carols which they accompanied with curses. About seven o'clock a tall, wiry-looking stranger walked into the tavern and told them to shut up. It was Christmas and no time for blaspheming. The Huns reached for their revolvers, but the stranger was quicker. He shot one of them through the heart, the other through the right eye."

Half an hour later, the S. S. men arrived from Warsaw. For two hours, the young Gruppenfuehrer roared at the poor tavern-keeper, who insisted he didn't know who the murderer was. He wasn't even in the room at the time. They hanged him from the door of his tavern. A picture was printed in the papers. "Exemplary punishment," the caption read.

II

THE sun was still shining as I made my way home, but I had a vague feeling of doom. Suddenly three trucks full of Black Guards led by an officer's car roared past me to the police station. A few of the soldiers carried large posters. I read one of them an hour later, pasted on the mayor's door. They were signed by Lieutenant Colonel Erwin von Hasse, Commander of the Warsaw Police District.

THE KILLER MUST BE SURRENDERED WITHIN TWENTY-FOUR HOURS. . . . POPULATION OF WAWER AND ANIN IS HELD COLLECTIVELY RESPONSIBLE. . . . ONE THOUSAND HOSTAGES ARE TO BE ARRESTED. . . . IF THE MURDERER IS NOT FOUND BY SEVEN A. M., DECEMBER 26, TWO HUNDRED HOSTAGES WILL BE SHOT. THE RATE IS ONE HUNDRED POLES OR JEWS FOR ONE GERMAN.

A silent, motionless crowd gathered around the mayor's house. We read the poster again and again, looking at each other with helpless glances. What could we do? It was impossible to organize a hunt for the killer. He had shot the Germans at seven and it was now eleven. He would be miles away by this time. And in our hearts, we prayed for his safety. Without a word, the crowd dissolved. We went home to wait. There was nothing else for us to do.

Most of our men had been killed in the war; many were prisoners; the rest had scattered to Russia, to England, wherever Poles are still fighting for their freedom. To find a thousand men in Wawer, I thought, they will have to take men of ninety and boys. Perhaps they intend to shoot women, too.

At home I forced myself to appear calm for my mother's sake. She was sitting by the window, staring blankly at the snow-covered lawn, the white pines. She held a half-knitted sock in her hands, but she was not knitting. She was praying for me. I saw her lips move, and twice she made the sign of the cross. She prayed as only a mother can pray for her son's life. I was sure they would be coming for me any minute. I was a physician known and respected by every soul in Wawer. They were bound to take me as a hostage. I glanced at my watch. It was one o'clock already. They were coming, I knew; why did they have to torture us by keeping us waiting?

Not a sound had been made, but I felt my mother shrink suddenly. Then I saw them, too. Seven, eight, perhaps ten of them were in front of the house. Black coats, the skull-and-crossbones on their helmets. They were the men assigned by Heinrich Himmler to keep Warsaw conquered. They walked by in single file, while we stared after them. They were *passing* our home!

But no!—As the line moved forward, the last two stood at attention at our gate. They had sub-machine guns on their shoulders, hand grenades fastened to their belts. They stood there for half an hour, without stirring. My

mother looked at me every few minutes; I returned her glances. There was no need for us to speak.

Then two of them came back down the street. A short man, dressed in gray, was between them. He was Edward Szabuniewicz, my neighbor for eighteen years. Every morning I had watched him pass my window to take the 7:30 commuters' train to the bank in Warsaw where he worked. Now I saw him through the same window. He looked years older. His hands were held clasped behind his neck, elbows high; his shoulders were hunched as if in great physical pain.

Two more guards passed my window, dragging young Theodore Piekarski between them. He was only sixteen and I remembered how bitter he had felt when they refused to accept him in the Polish Army. His father was a colonel, a prisoner in Germany, and he and his 15-year-old brother had been taking care of their sick mother. He, too, had his hands behind his neck. I understood their plan now. They were picking their hostages one at a time, working their way down the street from the last house.

Now it was my turn.

"You follow us!" they ordered. And when my mother rose from her chair, they told her to stay where she was. "Nobody may leave this house until seven tomorrow morning. Anyone seen on the street before then will be shot without warning."

And then one of them said: "The bodies may be taken from the public school playground where the execution will take place tomorrow at seven." He looked straight into my mother's eyes when he spoke of the bodies.

"Hands up!" he said as I passed through the doorway, "and clasp them over your neck. You will be shot if you put your hands down."

I was a hostage. And I was to be shot tomorrow morning in the playground. I felt calmer, somehow. We marched forward, four hostages from our street. At the corner we were met by six of our neighbors from the next street. At the next corner, five more. Our line grew longer and longer. We were joined by young boys and old men. We were forbidden to speak to each other. Szabuniewicz turned toward me on the way to the police station, where the S. S. had set up headquarters. A blow on the forehead with the butt of a rifle knocked him down. A kick in the kidneys forced him back to his feet. We stared straight ahead after that.

III

WAWER was a city of the dead. Not a sign of life. Only merging lines of gray-faced men, surrounded by steel-helmeted Nazis. It was a procession of ghosts.

"Put them in column of fives!" We halted in front of the station. Rifle-butts and heavy boots expedited the job of lining us up in order. We formed a long column, five men wide. And then we counted off, each hostage calling out, "One . . . two . . . three . . . four . . . five; one . . . two . . ." I was in the twenty-second row, fourth in line from the left. They counted us all. Then a German officer, with a whip in his hand, cursed as he passed down the column. We were not enough for him. Our number was less than half the thousand men they wanted for their ceremony.

We stood at attention in the snow—with our hands still behind our necks—while about half the guards again went from house to house. Two hours before they had asked the colonel's wife to choose which of her sons should be taken. When the poor mother fell in a faint, they took the older one. Now they were returning with the younger.

I do not know how long a man can continue to fear death, but I was no longer afraid. I felt that the others were as calm as I. We had been standing in front of the German headquarters

for five hours already. We had eaten nothing since morning and it was now dark. The older men began to collapse. When one of them fainted, a Black Guard kicked him over onto his face and pressed his head into the snow. The cold revived him and the two men next in line were permitted to help him to his feet.

At ten o'clock they brought more hostages, about twenty kids and a few old men they had missed. Our barber collapsed when he saw his thirteen-year-old boy being dragged by two S. S. men. I recognized the Laskozski twins in the group; they were fourteen.

New rows of five formed behind me. Not a word was spoken. Black Guards came and went, crunching the snow underfoot. We would hear a moan or the sound of a body dropping to the ground and we wondered who it was. Szabuniewicz, standing next to me, dropped at my feet. He remained motionless no matter how brutally they kicked him. When a Black Guard flashed a light in his face, I knew he was dead. We were ordered to drag his body under the grocer's porch. *He's had heart trouble for twenty years, I thought, and I kept him alive for this!*

They ordered the rows reformed. It may have been midnight. I felt paralyzed. I was unable to move as the guards pushed and shoved men around me. Now the younger Piekarski boy was beside me. I was still fourth from the left. The elder was in the row behind, fifth from the left. We were ordered to drop our hands and slap them against our thighs ten times. Then up again behind our necks.

The door of the police station opened and against the dazzling light I saw the tall slim officer with the whip who had counted us before.

"There are 580 of you," he said in German. "No more men are available as hostages. Colonel von Hasse intended to shoot 200 hostages, but he promised that only one out of five would be shot. He will keep this promise. You shall know what a German officer's word is. Instead of 200, only 116 men will be shot in five hours if the killer is not surrendered to the police. The hostages to be shot will be chosen by the colonel now. Enter the police station one by one."

We moved forward slowly. One by one, the men passed into the building, remained for a few minutes and came back into the night. As I walked up the steps, a guard pointed to the first door on the right. It was a very large room, dark and unfurnished. Facing the door sat a German officer, leafing through a sheaf of papers on his desk. In the dim light, I could not make out his features.

"Here!" A voice snapped at my left and I noticed another desk in the room. It was the officer who had ordered us in.

"Your name?" he asked. "Your age? Place of birth? Profession?" That was all he asked. Now I felt sure I was to be shot. These were questions they always asked their victims. After their executions, the Germans posted red-bordered placards on their bulletin boards announcing the execution and giving only these four details about the dead. So I thought I must be doomed.

"Now over there!" he said, and pointed to the first desk I had seen. My eyes had grown accustomed to the darkness and I saw a round, well-fed face over a tight collar. His eyes were small and piercing. He raised his lampshade and turned the light up into my face. He looked at me for a fraction of a second and muttered, *"Raus!"* He was Lieutenant-Colonel von Hasse, himself. I felt even more certain I was doomed. Why else would the commandant have looked at me?

I stepped back into the darkness and went

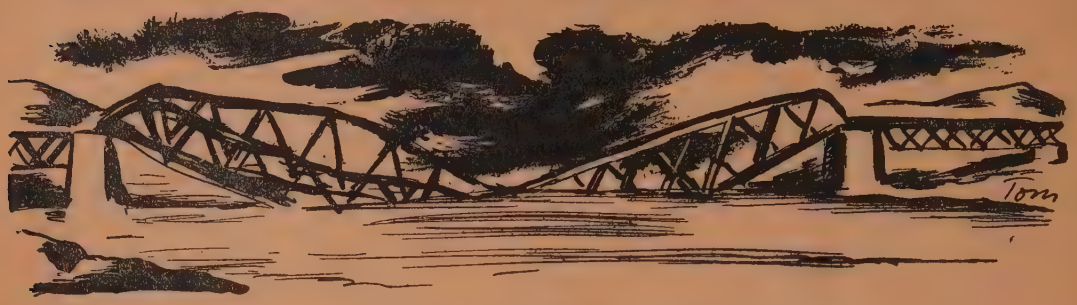
back to my old place in the column. For the first time since morning, I thought of the American visa in my desk. My brother who had been in America for twenty-seven years had managed to get one for me, but not for mother. She had wanted me to leave her, to start life anew in the United States. Only yesterday I had finally agreed to go. And now I would never see the new world!

They were not keeping their word, after all. They said we were to be shot at seven, but it was not yet dawn when they ordered us to march to the playground. Six trucks were parked along the side of the school, facing toward a high wall. Three S. S. troopers appeared from behind the trucks. They walked toward the head of our column, almost leisurely, and ordered the fifth man in each of the first twenty ranks to line up against the wall. The truck headlights flashed on. The light was dazzling. At a shrill command, machine guns opened fire. A burst, then a second and a third. We were no more than ten yards from the men writhing on the red-and-white ground. Not all of them had been killed at once. Three storm troopers inspected each of the bodies and emptied their pistols at the heads of those who seemed alive.

They were very systematic. Twenty and then twenty more—each time the men at the right end of each row. The same bursts from the machine guns and the same three guards inspecting the bodies, finishing them off with their pistols. Michael Poduchowski dashed out of line when he saw his brother among the third group. A guard shot him on the spot. And he was not marked for death. The slaughter lasted more than half an hour, while the rest of us stood motionless in the snow. The last thing I remember before I fell unconscious was the order to switch the headlights off. "No sense wasting the batteries."

The butchery was over. One hundred and seventeen men had been killed.

THE UNDERGROUND REPORTER



CONSIDERING the difficulties in both getting the news and sending it out of Europe, the accuracy of our Underground Reporters has been a constant source of wonder to us. Again and again, we have had corroboration of their authentic sources of information months after the news was published in the columns of FREE WORLD. Now the latest authentication gives us particular pleasure, not merely because it proves our Underground Reporter to have been right but also because it shows a development for which we have long been hoping. On May 27, at a press conference at the Free French headquarters in London, General De Gaulle allied himself with the democratic movements of resistance and mentioned specifically Liberation *as one of the leading underground movements with which he was in sympathy. In our October issue, the Underground Reporter informed our readers of these French movements and singled out* Liberation *among others as the one which would eventually be affiliated with the forces of Free France.*

Somewhere in Europe, July, 1942.

I HAVE reported the indirect admissions of the nazi press both in Germany and in Poland about the underground activities in that unhappy country. Now I can give you more facts describing these activities and the situation which has been created as a result of an efficient and well-organized underground movement there.

I may sum it all up by saying that the communications are in a very bad state, the shortage of coal is grave, and the food situation is bad and rapidly getting worse and worse.

Communications: These are in a sorry state indeed, and constantly deteriorating. The Germans are quite unable to cope with the problem this raises. Everywhere you frequently see entire trains waiting in vain for a locomotive. The ties and rails which have been worn out or destroyed are displaced with difficulty; lack of oil has also held up repairs. Collisions and accidents have become routine, not only because almost every night bands of underground workers attack the vulnerable spots, but because of the deteriorated condition of the entire railroad system. Transportation is thus interrupted for days and the General Staffs on the eastern front vainly threaten that their offensive will collapse unless there is a marked improvement.

Coal: As a consequence of the crisis in transportation, there is a shortage of coal, which in turn hampers many branches of industry. In Warsaw, for instance, the use of gas and electricity has had to be considerably reduced. The Germans ordered the closing of many offices and stores before the end of the day; many sections of the city do not get any electrical current at all in the evening. Streetcars are forever stopping for lack of current.

Food supplies: As the months go by, starvation becomes more

and more imminent. In Warsaw, the Poles get meat only by accident—the Jews not at all—as happened a few days ago when a quantity of meat was made available because there was no possibility of sending it to the eastern front; rather than let it spoil, it was sold to the people. Potatoes are very scarce, scarcer even than last year, when the situation was already bad enough. The potatoes allocated to the Poles are for the greater part rotten and frozen. One of the underground fighters told me that the cost of living is so high that most people cannot afford to buy even the few commodities that are to be found in the market.

Ration-cards for clothes and shoes are worth nothing. You have to wait for many months to get a shoe-card; when you get it, you are told that there are no shoes.

There is indeed only one commodity to be obtained without limitations or rationing: this is German propaganda. There is a Polish underground press which fights this propaganda and denounces all Goebbels' lies and misleading slogans. One of the most interesting underground periodicals, which will one day be among the indispensable sources for a history of the German occupation of Poland, is *Tomorrow*, the official organ of Independent Poland. A recent issue contained an article showing up the nazi propaganda methods which is well worth quoting at some length:

"The German propaganda is not based solely on the reptile press [The Poles call the Quislings of their country "reptiles."], the radio and the movies, which are meant only for the more naïve sort of person —whose number, fortunately, is constantly decreasing. For the more sophisticated classes, the enemy adopts more sophisticated weapons, the chief of which is a subtle form of the war of nerves.

"When public opinion is excited, when everyone is on the alert for sensational news, the German propaganda launches a tidbit: the German troops are concentrating on the Spanish frontier or the Japanese are preparing 10,000 planes for a raid on New York, or there are 1,275,000 Japanese soldiers poised on the Soviet frontier. There are even 'assurances' that when the Germans leave Poland, they will use poison gas against the Poles, and so on.

"There is method in this apparent madness. The idea is that, in the midst of all these contradictory reports, the patriots will become disorganized and drop their straight line of conduct. Hitler's propaganda never loses an opening. He encourages anxiety, disappointment and fear by all the means in his power. Sometimes Goebbels' agents succeed in influ-

---

Nowe Drogi

ROK II: Nr 2 (18) 21 STYCZNIA 1942

REWOLUCYJNO-SPOŁECZNE WARTOŚCI 1863 R.

Rok 63 musiał zakończyć się klęską wobec olbrzymiej dysproporcji sił stron walczących, gdy zawiodły nadzieje „demokratów" na wybuch rewolucji w Rosji i nadzieję „umiarkowanych" na skuteczną interwencję Zachodu. Tysiące bitew i potyczek stoczono napróżno. A przecież rok ten wciąż żyje i zawiera treść drogą dla nas istotną. — „Jak żałosna samotracji Nike pozdrawiasz nas z tej ziemi, niesmiertelne powstanie. Na skrzydłach Twych zawisła nasiębiorcza nadzieja nasza ku tobie. Sprawo przeklęta" — mówi Zeromski. Bo powstanie styczniowe to nie tylko desperacki porywzbrojny, ale przede wszystkim dwa lata wrzenia rewolucyjnego w Warszawie i w całym Królestwie, wrzenia trwającego od manifestacji lutowych i od śmierci Pięciu. Poległych. Samo powstanie rewolucję tę właściwie zamykało. Mogła ona być bierna dopóki szło o zewnętrzny, materialny niejako, ucisk narodowy, musiała stać się czynną i ważyć na wszystko, gdy zagroziło równocześnie niebezpieczeństwo wewnętrzne, moralne niebezpieczeństwo dla narodu, jakie niewątpliwie stanowiły wtedy posunięcia Wielopolskiego.

Czy rewolucja ta miała aspekt społeczny? Niepodobna go nie dostrzec w pojawieniu się — z wielką siłą — nowego żywiołu mieszczaństwa. „Biali" (więc przede wszystkim Andrzej Zamoyski) nie reprezentowali programu politycznego, a raczej tylko gospodarczy, bardzo konserwatywny i wyraźnie klasowy. Nie lekceważymy faktu, że powstanie i hasła Towarzystwa Rolniczego oznacza przebudzenie się instynktu życia publicznego u szlachty—lecz przecież utworzenie tzw. „Dyrekcji" w grudniu 1862 nie było niczym innym, jak krokiem do rozbicia obozu rewolucyjnego, owych Czerwonych, którzy na czele swych dążeń postawili — obok zbrojnej walki o niepodległość — radykalne hasło uposażenia chłopów. Jak w słynnych „manifestacjach" widzimy jasno, jak ta warstwa mieszczańska, ten nasz Trzeci Stan, tak bardzo opóźniony w rozwoju dziejowym, po raz pierwszy przejmuje inicjatywę z rąk szlacheckich.

Gdy zaś dochodzi wreszcie do porozumienia i połączenia wysiłków, gdy od marca 63 r. Biali zaczynają „interesować się"

The underground newspaper, *New Roads*
Issue of January 21, 1942.

encing a few ingenuous people who change their opinions on the basis of the sinking of one ship in the Pacific, of the bombardment of a city, or of a local landing. But the great mass of the population is impervious to such ruses, and does not allow its nerves to be weakened. The Poles cannot be shaken in their certainty of ultimate victory."

All the hundred Polish underground papers, published in spite of the Gestapo, warn the population against German propaganda, and denounce the Polish reptile press. These underground papers are published at grave sacrifice and risk. Each copy is as important as if it were handwritten. They must be treasured and preserved as men treasured and preserved manuscripts before the invention of printing. The copy you have may be the only one still in existence. So the first page exhorts the reader to guard them carefully from the eyes of spies and provocateurs; not to destroy them, but to pass them on to a friend, to a sure friend, to a "good Pole." These inscriptions are characteristic of all the underground press throughout Europe, the surest sign of a growing unity in the European underground.

The Third Front

THE entire underground movement, for us who are here in Europe, is a damned serious matter. So serious, that here in Europe we call it the third front. The second front will be functioning before the end of the year 1942. The third front, the underground, is working already.

We have organized the work into four departments — (1) sabotage; (2) military espionage; (3) propaganda among the oppressed nations; (4) creation of a revolutionary attitude, whether of the right or the left.

In France, where I have been recently, the underground movement is at present perfectly set up and, outside of what I may call the political part, that is to say, propaganda and formation of the personnel of future governments, perfectly secret and silent. It is the same in Belgium, in Poland, in Italy, in Czechoslovakia, and in Holland. Sabotage and military espionage against the Axis represent acts far too serious to furnish material for newspaper gossip.

In France, both occupied and non-occupied—and the difference is great—the essential groups of the Underground are those of *Liberty* and *Liberation.* Everybody knows that the group *Liberation* represents, above all, the syndicalist forces of France, betrayed by René Belin and guided, even if they are now in prison, by men like Léon Jouhaux. The group, *Liberation,* several months ago set up the requisite contacts with the working elements of England and America and later with the political forces grouped around General De Gaulle.

For the fascism of Vichy, just as for Italian fascism, youth is everything. Every politician of Vichy sold out to the Germans, whether his name is Doriot or Déat, Pucheu or Marion or Darnand, is wooing the younger generation, attempting — vainly, indeed — to drag it into a policy of collaboration with nazism. They have worked successively through the following organizations: Compagnons de France, Chantier de Jeunesse, and Jeunesse de France.

Vichy and Paris have laid down real programs for the young, programs which are regularly developed on the air, in the movies, or in literature, programs which are real acts of educational treason. The teachers, men or women, who do not follow them are not only expelled, but very often judged and sentenced to terms of prison.

Nothing is left undone that may create the cult of the *Maréchal,* in order to convince the youth of France that Pétain is the savior, something between Joan of Arc and the Miracle of the Marne.

Vichy Fails

BUT French youth is not easily wooed and refuses to heed the eloquence and the petty advantages which they offer. Catholic youth has perhaps been most impervious to the enticements of Vichy fascism. And weeklies like the *Temps Nouveaux* and *Esprit* have held very high, after the armistice, the torch of the ideal of liberty. It is for this reason, of course, that they are continually being suppressed or prohibited or severely watched over.

The failure of the attempt to organize the young people of France is best shown by the history of the fascist youth organizations. The Jeunesse de France has only a few mem-

bers. The Compagnons de France were such a disappointment to Vichy that ex-Minister of the Interior Pucheu decided to dissolve it. The old *Maréchal,* who was convinced that these young people belong to him, was the only one who opposed the dissolution and called for its continuance. The same can be said of the Chantiers de Jeunesse, who are under the supervision of the nazi and fascist armistice commissions and cannot even allow themselves the luxury of military exercises with hoes and pickaxes.

One of the most courageous acts in connection with these organizations has been the memorandum which the Protestant youth of France submitted to the Vichy Government, from which I copy a few striking sentences: ". . . The concepts of the Protestant Youth Council teach their members that obedience to a human lord can in no case be put before obedience to the sole Lord of heaven and earth. If there is a conflict between the order of the state and the order of God, it is preferable for a Christian to suffer anything rather than betray his Lord. Concretely this implies the definite rejection of all totalitarian ideologies. . . . . Our movement is resolutely opposed to everything that might tend to give youth a uniform culture in the service of a totalitarian nationalism which would systematically exclude or hate everything foreign."

The conquest of youth, the illusion of the neo-fascism of Vichy, went up in smoke because of the force of the underground movement. Young people of both sexes, the promise of a new France, find in their common struggle and in their common action, the social and political basis which unites them. Socialists, nationalists, Catholics, Jews, Protestants—the young people of France are working at one another's side in mutual respect and imbued with one sole desire. Less than a month ago, when I left France, the name of young Paul Colette, who shot Laval and Déat, was the favorite symbol of revolt for the youth of France.

May Day brought out both youth and adult manifestations. In response to the appeal broadcast by General de Gaulle from London 30,000 persons demonstrated in silence at Marseilles, 8,000 at Toulouse, 2,500 at Avignon, and 3,000 at Nice; from six-thirty to seven-thirty on the evening of May 1 the entire population of Montpelier marched through the streets to demonstrate its opposition to the German invaders and its fidelity to France and to liberty.

SZANUJ WYSIŁEK DRUKARZY I KOLPORTERÓW.
ODDAJ PISMO W PEWNE RĘCE. NIE NISZCZ!

BIULETYN informacyjny

R. IV — 29 STYCZNIA 1942 R. — № 4—108

KOLEJNOŚĆ CELÓW. Nie tylko Polska Niepodległa, ale również Polska Sprawiedliwa Społecznie — oto cele, które przyświecają naszej obecnej pracy podziemnej i w imię których we właściwej chwili chwycimy za broń.

Nie jesteśmy samotni w decyzji budowania uczciwego i sprawiedliwego życia w wyzwolonym kraju. Cały naród czuje i myśli tak samo. To samo wytknęły sobie niemal wszystkie czynniki polityczne w kraju. Temu samemu dał wyraz nasz rząd emigracyjny w swej Deklaracji Zasad: „Polska urzeczywistni zasadę sprawiedliwości, prawo wszystkich do pracy, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem prawa rzesz włościańskich do ziemi i jej sprawiedliwego między nie podziału, oraz prawo rzesz robotniczych i pracowników umysłowych do wpływu na produkcję i do sprawiedliwego udziału w jej owocach, tudzież do ochrony pracy przed wyzyskiem"...

Jeżeli państwo polskie ma się stać siłą kulturalną, gospodarczą i wojskową — niema do tego innej drogi, jak dobrobyt materialny i dobre poczucie duchowe najszerszych warstw narodu. To jest pewnik. Na tym punkcie jesteśmy w Polsce prawie wszyscy jednomyślni. Ale tak jak nie różnimy się w celach do których dążymy, tak samo winniśmy się dopracować do jednolitości w taktyce, w sposobach osiągania tych celów.

Otóż twierdzimy, że dla zapewnienia najlepszych wyników naszej walce — należy zdecydowanie określić kolejność realizowania celów. Mianowicie: najpierw walka, najpierw wypędzenie wroga i ustalenie granic, a dopiero potem przeprowadzenie reform społecznych i gruntowne urządzenie się w odbitym domu Ojczyzny.

Zdajemy sobie sprawę z niepopularności takiego postawienia sprawy. Wiemy, że tak samo nie inaczej gardłować będą ci wszyscy, którzy ocaliby pragnęli swe dotychczasowe przywileje klasowe i majątkowe.

The underground newspaper, *Bulletin of Information* Issue of January 23, 1942.

Troubles in Italy

THE deterioration of conditions in Italy facilitates the work of the underground movement. In spite of the efforts of fascist organizers, the distribution of agricultural prod-

ucts as well as the situation of the countryside itself is growing more and more desperate. Italian farm laborers are obliged to go to work in Germany in growing numbers. And even the generous soil of Italy does not produce without peasants.

The Russian War is the worst headache for the Italian fascist regime. The brains of an entire people are being racked to devise new ways for avoiding going to Russia to be killed or to Germany to work for the Germans. Soldiers who come back from the Russian front tell of the material sufferings but especially of the moral sufferings endured under the Germans. An Italian officer narrated that on the southern Russian front a German general found only this phrase to praise his fascist allies: "Perhaps the Italian soldier has a heart of gold, but certainly the Italian officer in the place of brains has nothing but *drek*."

For this reason the military prison of Turin, for instance, is crammed with recruits who refuse to go and fight in Russia.

For this reason the prisons of Milan or Padua are filled with workmen who refuse to go to Germany. These workmen and their families had been told that the Germans requisitioned meat, milk, and eggs to feed the workers who go to Germany, but they learned that it is only the German workers who receive this food.

The soldiers and peasants refuse to observe the fascist rules for facilitating the production and the distribution of foodstuffs throughout Italy. In April soldiers who had come back from the Russian front and workmen of the Milanese factories attacked fascists who have never abandoned their easy jobs. Throughout Italy, the soldiers who come back from Africa tell the truth. They tell of the torture of the war in the desert when the troops are commanded by German officers who hate and despise the Italian soldier. Throughout Italy, Germans dressed in fascist uniforms act as guards in factories and public buildings. Germans send to Italy the tin boxes which the Italian peasant ought to fill up to send to Germany. And if the Italians do not send this food to Germany, Hitler immediately stops all shipments of coal. Such a stoppage occurred in April, when it was physically impossible for the Italian Government to send as much rice to Germany as was required by the chief of German food supplies. And the lack of coal is all the graver, inasmuch as, because of the extraordinary drought, even the reservoirs of the Alps and the Apennines have dried up. A technician of electrical power production assured me some time ago that at least sixty days of rain would be needed to give Italy the quantity of kilowatts required to run the railway lines of Modena, Genoa, and the Tyrrhenian coast.

The Axis powers are making desperate efforts to obtain coal from Spain, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. They are worried by the shortages, but the much-vaunted German capacity for economic organization has not been able to meet this crisis. All is confusion. Another Italian technician assured me that the coal of the Ruhr goes to Bretagne or to French North Africa, where local resources would surely be sufficient. Germany itself allows Bulgaria to send coal to Italy, whereas neighboring Greece receives coal from Silesia.

BOOKS

Our Not So Invisible Allies

BY DAVID W. PETEGORSKY

WHEN the unification of the progressive forces in the United Nations, the pressure of public opinion and the sheer necessities of the situation have finally forced our leaders—or those who will succeed them—to wage the war as revolution, an intimate knowledge of the underground movements and the nature of popular resistance to fascism in Europe will be of vital importance. Any large-scale Continental offensive that may be attempted should obviously be launched at those points where internal resistance has most seriously weakened the Nazis and where the greatest degree of assistance from the local population may be expected. A knowledge of the aspirations of the conquered peoples is indispensable for effective prosecution of political warfare; for only by appreciating their hopes can we evoke their innermost responses. And, finally, realistic planning for the post-war world must build on an understanding of the groups who are likely to come to power on the European Continent when fascism has been crushed.

If we are to plan intelligently for the peace that is to come, we must therefore make every effort to understand what are the forces of popular opposition to fascism, what classes they represent, what are their aspirations, what is the likelihood that they will be able to form stable, democratic governments in the aftermath of war.

The publication within recent weeks of several volumes* which, in some manner or other give us an insight into these problems is therefore warmly to be welcomed. Indeed, a general awareness of the operation of the nazi system throughout Europe, and an understanding of the nature and depth of the resistance to it, may contribute greatly to driving home the fact that this war is essentially a social revolution that spans the globe.

Both Curt Riess' "Underground Europe" and "Sixth Column," in which eminent representatives of ten occupied countries tell the tale of resistance to nazi rule, build on the same kind of materials. The reliability of their evidence has been repeatedly vouched for by the governments-in-exile and by groups in constant communication with the undergrounds. Careful readers of the daily press will recognize numerous items and incidents which have been reported during the past few years and which, when assembled and put in proper perspective, constitute a truly remarkable record.

Mr. Riess has had the advantage of being able to integrate his material into a running narrative, and "Underground Europe" reads like the most exciting of fiction. One will not find in it any very searching examination either of the implications of the facts or of their social and political roots. For that, we shall need a more profound social analyst than Riess.

"Sixth Column," as the product of many hands, is somewhat less even; but it is no less fascinating. Both volumes tell in detail the brutalities of nazi occupation on the one hand, and the heroic opposition and the unbreakable will to freedom of the conquered peoples, on the other. They reveal the inhuman cruelty of the nazi overlords, the severity of their decrees, the mass murders in which they indulge, the forced migration of millions of laborers, the barbaric harshness of punishment for the most minor of offenses, from which not even children are exempt. But they tell, even more eloquently, the inspiring tale of a continent that has refused to

---

* *UNDERGROUND EUROPE, by Curt Riess.* 325 pages. Dial; $3.00

THE SIXTH COLUMN. 313 pages. Alliance; $2.50

AGENT IN ITALY, by S. K. 331 pages. Doubleday Doran; $3.00

THE NEW ORDER IN POLAND, by Simon Segal. 286 pages. Knopf; $3.00

WILL GERMANY CRACK? by Paul Hagen. 283 pages. Harpers; $2.75

accept the aggressor, of the widespread and ever increasing extent of organized sabotage, of the passive resistance of local populations that is paralyzing administration, of slow-down techniques that are significantly impairing production, of the bitter humor that is frequently proving a more powerful weapon than guns and tanks, of the guerilla warfare of the Greeks and Poles and the open warfare of the remarkable Chetniks of Jugoslavia. These facts are too well known to the readers of this journal to require elaboration. It is to their implications that I shall presently return.

The reliability of S. K.'s "Agent in Italy" has been questioned by many intimately acquainted with Italian conditions. A Dumas-like tale of adventure and romance, it moves in a world of conspirators and beautiful women. Unlike the other volumes, it is hardly a record of real men and women displaying the utmost fortitude under the most trying of circumstances. We know from other sources that such people are as active in Italy as anywhere else. But it is doubtful that S. K. met with or spoke to many of them. In any event, "Agent in Italy" is too highly personalized an account of espionage to serve as a useful index to the nature of popular resistance within Italy. But it does testify to the depth of dissatisfaction with the fascist regime, to the misery and apathy into which the Italian people have been plunged, to the profound anti-war sentiment of the majority in the country, to the manner in which Italy has become a colony of the Gestapo and Mussolini a puppet, to the popular resentment the German occupation has aroused.

Simon Segal's "The New Order in Poland" is a book of a different genre. Here, a careful, diligent, research scholar has described in considerable detail the organization of Poland under the nazi regime. While others have written more eloquent and impassioned treatises about the nazi system, few have given us such a complete picture of what the structure of nazi Government in a conquered area is actually like. That the prime purpose of nazi aggression was the creation of a continental imperialism has been increasingly recognized. Dr. Segal has examined the translation of these purposes into the methods and techniques of actual administration. The richer and more fertile western section of Poland has been incorporated into the Reich. And the Nazis are endeavoring through expropriation, expulsion, population transfer, and similar methods to Germanize that area. The poorer, eastern section will have the status of a colonial dependency whose function will be to serve as a supply of cheap labor for the Reich. Already hundreds of thousands of Polish workers have been sent to Germany.

Dr. Segal discusses in detail the political and economic organization of the new regime, its population and colonization policies, its attempt completely to destroy Polish cultural and intellectual life, the ghetto system created by the Nazis for the Polish Jews, the complete unconcern of the Nazis for the fate of the millions of inhabitants of the country. Those who want a sober, authoritative picture of what a nazi victory means for any conquered territory can do no better than to read this book.

Segal has included a chapter on the underground movement in Poland. While it lacks the spectacular and detailed descriptions of "Underground Europe" or "The Sixth Column," it nevertheless reveals the workings of a widespread, vigorous and well-organized movement. Hundreds of illegal newspapers are being published regularly; and acts of sabotage are constantly increasing. Segal has some particularly valuable comments on the nature of the underground movements and their aspirations for the future. I shall come back to that shortly.

Paul Hagen, at present research director of the American Friends of German Freedom, was active in the underground movement until he left Germany and has been in intimate contact with it ever since. As a result, he is probably as well informed about internal conditions in Germany as any person in this country. "Will Germany Crack?" is a searching factual and analytical assessment of the present strength of the German home front and particularly of the possibilities of collapse on that front. Based almost wholly on nazi and underground reports, it is as noteworthy for its sobriety and caution as it is for the material it presents.

The Nazis' most desperate problem, Mr. Hagen asserts, is the acute shortage of labor. And the five and a half million laborers forced into the Reich from the conquered areas have not been an adequate substitute for the four million Germans they have replaced. Almost unanimously hostile to the nazi regime, they can hardly be expected to be enthusiastic in its service. Their living and working conditions and the harsh labor regulations inevitably make for a serious decline in their efficiency. And this "foreign army in overalls" constitutes a serious political menace to the Nazis. The productivity of German labor is similarly declining. The younger men have been sent to the fighting fronts; the average age of the German workers has therefore risen considerably. The workers generally are tired and undernourished. Nor does there seem to be any possible solution to Germany's labor crisis.

In coal, in steel, and, most important, in transportation, there are equally serious crises. The shortage of fodder, of tractors, of oil is

seriously impairing agricultural production. Big business, of course, knows that its only hope lies in a nazi victory. But the lower middle classes are being increasingly liquidated; and the farmers now realize that the interests of the Nazis and the upper classes are directly opposed to their own.

But the author warns us against overoptimism. "The back of the impressive, and certainly still dangerous, German war production machine is already somewhat bowed. To speak of a state of paralysis, as some eager people do, is not justified but the bloom of youth in which others believe has already passed." No fatal rift, he insists emphatically, can be expected between the Nazis and the army, particularly the generals and the officers. His chapter on "The Generals' Revolt" is a masterpiece of sober analysis that should serve as an antidote to the nazi propaganda tales of dissension between Hitler and the military chiefs.

But there does exist a tremendous anti-fascist potential in Germany, particularly among the workers and farmers, and that opposition is growing daily. It is the basis of Germany's democratic revolution and, given a crisis in Germany's military fortunes, it can become a most vital factor in nazism's defeat. Hagen's final chapter in which he seeks to draw the implications of his analyses both for immediate strategy and for post-war policy contains some of the sanest and most incisive comment that has yet appeared.

II

FROM these several volumes, there emerges a pattern of anti-fascist opposition and underground activity that is of utmost importance for the prosecution of the war. First: What began after an initial period of stupefaction and demoralization as a series of sporadic acts of resistance has become, more or less, a general movement subject to a considerable degree of co-ordination and equipped with organs of instruction and communication. That is not to suggest that the anti-fascist opposition in any country has become a unified whole or that prewar differences between political parties now driven underground have disappeared entirely. Indeed, as Riess suggests, the probable tragedy of France today is the existence of too many disunited underground organizations. But it is nonetheless true that throughout Europe political differences are receding before the larger and common tasks. In Poland, asserts Segal, "as far as is feasible, all the underground groups are co-ordinated and directed by central authority." And the contributors to "The Sixth Column" similarly testify to the emergence of an increasing unity among the anti-fascist forces.

Secondly: There is a direct relationship between the growth of the undergrounds and the military fortunes of the United Nations. Dr. Segal reports that in Poland such things as American lend-lease aid to the Democracies and Soviet successes greatly invigorated the movement of popular resistance. "From the hour when the Belgians grasped the fact that the British had not given up but were fighting on," declared Mr. Riess, "the Belgians were fired to action." In Austria, he writes, war sabotage "grows with every Russian victory."

Thirdly: The effective centers of underground resistance are the remnants of working-class organizations. In virtually every country—and that is just as true of Germany—the underground is largely based on working-class groups. That does not mean that the underground is exclusively a working-class affair. One of its most encouraging aspects is the degree to which members of all classes, particularly the intellectuals, are participating in its activities. But its driving force comes from the working classes and, in many instances since last June, from the Communists.

Thus, as Genevieve Tabouis suggests, it is no accident that the most effective acts of sabotage in France have occurred on the railroads, for French railroad workers always possessed one of the best organized unions in France. Sabotage by workers and farmers in Czechoslovakia, declares Jan Masaryk, "has assumed proportions which amount to a serious menace for the Reich. Such important armament factories as the Skoda works at Pilsen slowed down their output as much as fifty percent." In Poland, writes Dr. Segal, "the Polish and Jewish workers are the most active." And, the working classes are overwhelmingly the most important potential factor in any democratic revolution in Europe. "The core (of the anti-fascist potential) is in the productive forces of Germany," Hagen asserts, "its workers, its productive intelligentsia and its farmers."

Fourthly: The underground movements throughout most of Europe are decidedly radical. Most of them recognize that the world chaos has deeper roots than Hitler's lust for power. They know that the anti-democratic nature of many of their own regimes paved the way for their defeat. They know, too, that military victory of itself will be no guarantee of a stable, democratic society. Increasingly, they are making radical social and economic change one of their basic goals for the post-war world. More and more, they are insisting that only a socialized Europe can make possible a democratic peace. And they want to see from the leaders of Great Britain and the United States evidence of their recognition of that fact.

III

IT is, of course, true that in certain countries, such as Norway and Holland, which had relatively enlightened governments before the war, the aim of the underground is primarily national liberation and the restoration of the status quo. In most of the important European countries, however, the drive for national liberation among the most vital sections of the movement of resistance is coupled with a program of social revolution. And in Germany, as both Riess and Hagen point out, the underground is dedicated almost wholly to social revolution; for the overthrow of the Nazis coincides with revolution. In many instances, the underground movements are far in advance of the governments which represent them in exile. The Polish underground, for example, is overwhelmingly radical and is revealing a remarkable determination to build in the Poland of the future, one of the world's most progressive democracies.

We shall require much more information about popular resistance in Europe; and the undergrounds will surely continue to grow both as a result of their own momentum and in response to a changing situation. But these volumes have already given us valuable information on which to build. The United Nations have on the continent of Europe a potential army of scores, if not hundreds, of millions of allies for whom no risk in the cause of freedom is too great. But we can enlist them effectively in freedom's battle neither by singing their praises nor by exhorting them to continued heroism, but only by adjusting our strategy to the reality they represent.

It is vital to emphasize that point. For these volumes, as Mr. Hagen warns us, may have dangerous consequences. They may tend to render us complacent by giving us the feeling that, because of the swelling tide of discontent, the battle against Hitler can be fought—and won—by the local populations within Europe; that the Nazis will be overthrown by those whom they have enslaved. Actually, of course, that is a wholly unrealistic assumption. The undergrounds are limited in weapons and in opportunities. They can harass the Nazis; they can impair production; they can demoralize the armies of occupation; they can force the Nazis to divert troops from the active battlefronts. But it is naïve to hope that, of and by themselves, they can bring about the collapse of fascism.

But they can prove a major factor in that collapse under two conditions. A large-scale military offensive by the United Nations on the European continent would provide our millions of not-so-invisible allies with unparalleled opportunities for sabotage, resistance, and actual war on a scale hitherto undreamed of—and in the absence of an offensive, impossible. And such activities behind the front would likely prove the decisive element in victory. The second condition is a political one. It demands a recognition on our part of the aspirations of Europe's manacled millions and of our determination to fulfil them. We must give to the peoples of Europe—and all the world—adequate assurance both in unequivocal word and dramatic deed that we are determined to satisfy their hopes for the future.

That we of the United Nations have thus far failed to provide those conditions, particularly on the political plane, is due to our refusal to recognize that this is a revolutionary war and to fight it as such. We are unable to adjust our thinking to the revolutionary nature of the situation. We fear the future. We shrink from the consequences of a vigorous and revolutionary appeal to the peoples of Europe and Asia, an appeal that would be given content by equally vigorous action. So long as we persist in that refusal and those fears, we are forfeiting the assistance of our most numerous and potentially most valuable allies in our battle for the world.

A FREE WORLD CHECK LIST

THE ROOTS OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM, by Rohan D'O. Butler. 304 *pages. Dutton;* $3.00

Mr. Butler, a Fellow of All Souls and the son of Harold Butler, former Director of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, has written a profound study of the intellectual currents which have contributed to the formation of National Socialist ideology. Although the study deals primarily with the romanticism and reaction of the nineteenth century, there is an excellent discussion of the influence of Fichte and Herder upon German thought. The method followed is the customary one of analyzing in some detail, and with much acute criticism, the thought of the leading thinkers of each period and school.

Those who believe that the nazi movement is little more than an excresence upon the German body politic will find scant comfort in these trenchant pages. Mr. Butler demonstrates convincingly how naturally the ideology of the movement has developed out of the dominant German intellectual trends of the past century. His final judgment: "German thought and German practice have for the last century and a half been undermining the civilization of the West; they are hostile to that civilization and eager to bring about its ruin; they wish its ruin because it is built upon the mean of reason, the Christian ethic, the scientific spirit, and the human worth —all alien to the German outlook which casts right back to barbarism." All in all, this is a most powerful indictment of modern Germanism.

TOWARD INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION (A series of lectures at Oberlin College), by Howard Robinson and others. viii + 218 *pages. Harper;* $2.00

THE NEW FREEDOM OF THE SEAS, by W. Arnold-Forster, vii + 134 *pages. Methuen;* 6*s.*

As the war progresses the reading public is destined to be confronted with an increasing number of volumes which examine possible approaches to the future peace. This is an excellent and a healthy sign, for there cannot be too much speculation in a democratic society about issues which are so fundamental to the future welfare of that society. Mr. Arnold-Forster is preoccupied with the problem of relating the traditional freedom of the seas to an internationally organized society. Remembering the troubles which this controversy caused between the British and ourselves in 1918, and disturbed by its reappearance in the Atlantic Charter, he has written a first-rate brief essay on the meaning of the doctrine in the past and its possible meaning within an ordered system of general security. His argument is cogent and unfailingly constructive.

The Oberlin lectures on international organization examine almost all phases of the problem. Professor Robinson contributes an introductory essay on past movements for collective security; Professors Wooster and Viner examine respectively the economic aspects of war and of reconstruction; Major George Fielding Eliot discusses security; Max Lerner, the politics of total war; Professor Quincy Wright, international justice; Professor Hocking, the cultural and religious organization of the future; while Professor Jaszi synthesizes the lectures in a concluding essay on the political organization of the future.

The principles of international organization, collective security, international economic control, and religious tolerance are all discussed with a competence which the names listed above would lead the reader to anticipate. Except for Major Eliot, the contributors did not, however, attempt to deal realistically with the role of power politics in the post-war period. This is a serious and a somewhat regrettable lacuna in an otherwise excellent symposium.

FLIGHT TO ARRAS, by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry. 225 *pages. Reynal;* $2.75

One is tempted to say sweepingly that no writer in our time has produced a prose so exciting as M. Saint-Exupéry's. In "Flight to Arras" he has a subject worthy of the grand style—the fall of France, as seen through the eyes of a French flier who is completely aware of its implications.

M. Saint-Exupéry's prose never falters. Here is true poetry—not that of metrical devices, but the poetry of keen sensations perfectly rendered, the poetry of the highest human qualities made manifest in writing of luminous precision. One must look back to Conrad and Melville to find M. Saint-Exupéry's equals in the portrayal of the classic conflict of man with the elements. And here, in the third of this author's books to be translated into English, there is added to this conflict the dynamic realization that the government which, as it were, supports the flier in the air is rotting away beneath him.

Like most great books, this one may be enjoyed on many levels. As a thriller, it is top notch. But only the trivial reader will get no

more from it than that. The serious reader will recognize that here is the noblest affirmation of man's dignity in face of death that has been written since the seventeenth century. For from the chaos and confusion of his country's fall, M. Saint-Exupéry has had the integration of spirit and the artist's skill to create great prose. Here is the first literary masterpiece to come from the World War II. When one considers those books which express not merely their author but the consciousness of a people, one must place "Flight to Arras" among the noblest achievements of the Gallic spirit.

AMERICA IN THE NEW PACIFIC, by George E. Taylor. 160 *pages. Macmillan;* $1.75

GOVERNMENT AND NATIONALISM IN SOUTHWEST ASIA, by Rupert Emerson, Lennox A. Mills and Virginia Thompson. xiii + 242 *pages. Institute of Pacific Relations;* $2.00

Both of these books deal with various aspects of a single momentous problem: the future relationship of the white nations to the Far East. The Emerson-Mills-Thompson volume sketches the background of the problem with admirable brevity. Professor Emerson points out the stubborn complexity of a problem created by a conflict between developing native nationalism and the immense power of foreign economic controls. Professor Mills contributes a factual description of the governments of the region, and Miss Thompson has added a good analysis of the various nationalist movements, their strengths and weaknesses.

Professor Taylor examines this problem from the standpoint of one interested in a proper postwar policy for the United States in the Far East. In brief, he argues that the United States must accept the obligations of leadership in the Pacific, establishing good faith and promoting independence for "all who are capable of achieving it." No other power can serve as an intermediary between Asiatic aspirations and the vested interests of the past. Only through active American intervention can an active harmony be reached between these conflicting interests.

UNCENSORED FRANCE, by Roy P. Porter, 305 *pages. Dial;* $2.75

While never showing much depth of insight, this eyewitness account of Occupied France by an A. P. correspondent in Paris is always readable and vivid. Mr. Porter has the true journalist's gift for calling up a picture. He declares that not only were the French opposed to their conquerors; the various nazi cliques and administrative offices also blocked one another. Newspapermen found that a permit granted by one clique might be vetoed by another, and that each clique demanded its meed of sycophancy. In the countryside, Mr. Porter found that the great cathedrals had escaped the bombs, and that the Nazis pointed to this with pride for their marksmanship and love of art. The author feels that Marshal Pétain still enjoys "the almost unqualified respect" of his people, but that they will rebel if given anything like an opportunity.

GLIMPSES OF WORLD HISTORY, by Jawaharlal Nehru. xxxvi + 993 *pages. Day;* $4.00

This broad historical panorama is a compilation of letters written in English to his thirteen-year-old daughter by Mr. Nehru during his imprisonment in various British jails in India. The author's purpose was to widen her political vision and to foster in her the unfaltering love of truth, freedom, and toleration through an objective study of world civilizations.

While written so simply that a child can understand them, these essays at the same time reveal the mature penetration of the great Indian leader's personal analysis of world history. They cover the Hindu, Chinese, Persian, Greek, Roman, Arabian, and Mayan civilizations, the evolution of modern imperialism, revolutionary movements, fascism and its policies, and present-day world politics. To write such a work during imprisonment, without the aid of a reference library, is an achievement nothing short of stupendous. Mr. Nehru reveals himself not merely as a political leader, but as a scholar of international distinction.

Although it is neither a text nor a reference book, this "World History" gives an accurate synthesis of the great world civilizations, at times even serving as a corrective for those who suffer from the complex of European superiority. He points out that the Roman Empire was a slave empire, that the Greek republics were not truly democratic, that modern democracies are

PATENTS AND TRADE MARKS

Patent and profit by your inventions. Protect your most valuable assets. Write Lester L. Sargent, Registered Patent Attorney, 1115 K St., Washington, D. C.

ruled by rich men, and that the ideal concepts of good government were not altogether foreign to the Orientals.

PREFACE TO PREPAREDNESS, by C. Leonard Hoag. 205 *pages. American Council on Public Affairs;* $3.00

As Admiral Yarnell points out in his introduction to this book, the Washington Conference was "based primarily on the assumption that armaments are the cause of war, that once armaments are reduced, the probability of war is reduced accordingly." Unless this is borne in mind by the reader, Dr. Hoag's study of the climate of American opinion concerning armaments and naval policy, 1919-1922, will seem almost a conducted excursion into a world of phantasy rather than a first-rate analysis of American opinion a scant two decades ago. We have had all too few attempts to study the nature of American attitudes toward foreign policy as revealed by the press, and this volume and the other companion volumes published by the American Council are beginning to fill a long-felt need. This study is particularly good because the author has attempted to synthesize the currents of opinion rather than to limit himself to the quotation of endless press comments.

MACARTHUR ON WAR, Edited by Frank C. Waldrop. 418 *pages. Duell;* $3.00

This collection of the military papers of General Douglas MacArthur includes the texts of his five annual reports as Chief of Staff, 1931-35, his outline for a suggested defense of the Philippines, and the texts of his principal communiqués on the Manila and Bataan campaigns. MacArthur's official problem was indeed a difficult one. He came into office in 1930, acutely aware of the necessity for modernizing the entire army structure. But the Depression and the sentiment of the nation was against military improvements. General MacArthur's reports for the years following have a conservative and at times overoptimistic tone, as if intended to placate those to whom they were addressed. One does not feel that this indicates want of foresight, so much as an awareness that you cannot sell the public what it does not want. The picture of MacArthur that emerges from these papers is that of an astute military executive. If he fails to attain to the brilliant prescience of "Billy" Mitchell, he also lacks that celebrated general's intransigeance. Through never making an issue of military reform, MacArthur was able to put certain reforms into effect. One sees him as an admirable example of the professional soldier.

A tribute to "ASIA" from England

"HOW are Westerners who care disinterestedly about Asia to be heard and play their part? That it is possible for white men still to do so is proved by the attitude of complete equality, the knowledge and the beauty of "ASIA." Of all the papers that now come to me from different countries, I know of none so exciting, so hopeful and of so high a standard of writing and culture as this New York publication."

From A LONDON DIARY in "The New Statesman and Nation," March 7, 1942.

The continent of Asia and every island and cove in the Pacific Ocean are now as much your concern as a fire in your neighbor's house. Now, more than ever, you need ASIA Magazine. And now you may have ASIA each month for the next eight months for only $2.

Special Offer to New Readers

8 months of ASIA for $2

(Tear off on this line)

ASIA MAGAZINE
40 East 49th Street
New York, N. Y.

Please put me down for an 8-months' subscription to ASIA. I am enclosing $2.00 in full payment.

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

State .....

WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

SIR NORMAN ANGELL is a frequent contributor to *FREE WORLD* * * * *HUGO FERNANDEZ ARTUCIO'S* first article in this series appeared in our April issue * * * This is the second of *LOUIS DOLIVET'S* series of articles on The Planning of the Future. The first was published in May, two others will follow in succeeding issues * * * *SYDNEY R. ELLIOTT,* author of "The English Co-operatives" and editor of *Reynolds News,* has watched the development of the policy of the Labor party in Great Britain for many years * * * *HELEN HILL* is the executive director of the National Policy Committee * * * It is encouraging to see that one of the most influential spokesmen of the Free French movement in America places due emphasis on the importance of the democratic aspects of the fight which the De Gaulle forces are waging. Professor *HENRI LAUGIER,* former Nobel prize winner, has been lecturing at the University of Montreal since his exile * * * *LIN YUTANG* is the author of "The Importance of Living," "My Country and My People," and other books * * * *DAVID W. PETEGORSKY,* political scientist, is the co-author of "The Strategy for Democracy" * * * *COUNT CARLO SFORZA,* former Foreign Minister of Italy, is the spiritual head of free Italians everywhere * * * The radio broadcasts of *WILLIAM L. SHIRER* as well as his book, "Berlin Diary," have made him one of the outstanding commentators in America * * * *W. B. STARSKI* is the pen name of a practicing Warsaw physician whose real name cannot be disclosed because his mother is still in the hands of the Nazis * * * *MARK VAN DOREN,* poet and novelist, has recently published a book of verse, "The Mayfield Deer" * * * The latest of *FRANZ WERFEL'S* famous novels, which include "The Forty Days of Musa Dagh" and "The Embezzled Heaven," is "The Song of Bernadette" * * *

but these are living words.....

echoing around the world

★ ★ ★

FREE WORLD READERS ACCLAIM ITS VALUE

"We are finding FREE WORLD of inestimable value and we hope in the coming months that our Wisconsin citizenry will become acquainted with your publication and appreciate more and more its value in the development of an intelligent public opinion. I feel that this is a magazine that should be in every high school in the state of Wisconsin."—(signed) Almere L. Scott, Director Dept. Debating and Public Discussion, Extension Division, University of Wisconsin.

Among the many world famous men of public affairs who contribute to FREE WORLD are:

Henry A. Wallace
Eduard Benes
Cordell Hull
T. V. Soong
Elmer Davis
Sir Norman Angell
Ernest Bevin
Jan Masaryk
Count Carlo Sforza
J. Alvarez del Vayo

Members of the editorial board represent 22 countries of the Americas, Europe and Asia.

You have a personal share in the future of the free democratic peoples —*for you are one of us.* And your need to be well informed is imperative. You owe it to yourself to read FREE WORLD. Won't you please use the convenient coupon?

MAIL THE COUPON TODAY

THE PROVOCATIVE, almost prophetic words within these covers do not go to rest in some dusty oblivion. They are picked up and used by great newspapers . . . news services . . . short-wave radio . . . cable editors; they are transmitted to every battle front where the fight for victory and enduring world peace is being waged.

FREE WORLD brought its readers the momentous speech, *Price of Victory*, by Vice-President Henry A. Wallace in the June issue. As you read it in FREE WORLD so did the democratic, freedom-loving peoples in London, Moscow, Chungking, Buenos Aires, and Canberra.

Short-wave radio sends FREE WORLD's inspiring words to our Allies everywhere. Even in darkened Europe, by means of the underground, FREE WORLD's message stimulates hope, bids stout-hearted men carry on.

Nearly half the material printed in these pages is reprinted in the South American, Mexican and Chinese editions of FREE WORLD. Soon the ardent French in Canada will have their own edition.

FREE WORLD must continue to grow.

A subscription entered now will not only make a significant contribution to your awareness of world events, but it will aid FREE WORLD to carry on its important and necessary work.

MAIL THIS COUPON

FREE WORLD
55 WEST 42ND STREET, DEPT. 2A
NEW YORK CITY

Send me the next three issues of FREE WORLD at the special introductory price of $1.00

☐ Payment enclosed.
☐ Bill me later.

Name .....

Street No. .....

City..... *State*.....

The "FIFTH FREEDOM"

". . . This is a fight between a slave world and a free world . . . the world must make its decision for a complete victory one way or another." . . .

Vice-President Henry A. Wallace, in his speech at the 2nd Annual Dinner of Free World Association, May 8, 1942.

INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE, as we know them, were born in a free world; the death of that freedom would mean the end of all the gains, all the benefits and all the hopes that enterprise has brought to civilization.

This "Fifth Freedom" of industry and trade is, therefore, dependent upon uncompromising defeat of those who would impose their evil will upon mankind. The Dixie-Vortex Company is one of countless American corporations whose stockholders and employees have prospered from the right to trade in a free world. All the resources of the Company are pledged to the maintenance of that right.

DIXIE CUPS

used 'round the world

***Product of* DIXIE-VORTEX COMPANY**

EASTON, PA. • CHICAGO, ILL. • TORONTO, CANADA

Agents in all free countries